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17th Session of PNC Ends November 29

The Palestine National Council (PNC), the highest decision-making body of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, concluded its 17th session in Amman November 29. The actual convening was in doubt since eight PLO factions and some independents refused to attend, but a quorum was in the end achieved.

The PNC members in attendance unanimously reconfirmed the leadership of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and approved any improvement in relations with Jordan, while rejecting King Hussein's suggestion of UN Resolution 242 as the basis for a joint Palestinian-Jordanian peace initiative.

Despite attacks aimed at Syria for its attempt to oust Arafat, delegates decribed relations with Syria as essential but conditional on mutual respect. The role of Egypt was re-emphasised in the report of the political committee.

The session was highlighted by: the achievement of a quorum; the ousting of PNC Chairman Khaled al-Fahoum and election of a new chairman; Yasir Arafat's resignation and the subsequent popular acclamation for him to continue his role; and the election of new members and a new executive committee.

Quorum

The question of whether a quorum could be reached was heatedly debated before and during the opening PNC session. On November 22 PNC Deputy Chairman Salim Zanoun explained that the necessary quorum of two-thirds of the PNC members stood at 250. The number was reached, he said, after the elimination of six PNC members who died, three from south Lebanon unable to attend and one from the occupied territories who was barred from crossing the border between Israel and Jordan. A quorum was declared at the opening session when the roll call of members present numbered 257.

The opening session, broadcast live by Jordan TV, was tense, with a number of delegates interrupting the initial roll call to question changes in delegates. When a quorum was declared Zanoun announced to the session, "We have won. The independent national Palestinian decision has come out victorious." Zanoun was responding to what he called attempts by "some Arab countries" to thwart the convening of the PNC.

On November 23 a number of heads of Palestinian unions and mass organisations held a press conference in Amman to clarify any questions about the lists of their delegates to the PNC. PNC Chairman Khalad al-Fahoum, who was later ousted by the assembly, accused the PNC, in a Syrian TV broadcast, of improper last minute changes in the quorum count. Fahoum said he had a list of 144 PNC delegates who did not attend, making a quorum impossible. In the press conference, however, Issam Abdul Hadi, head of the General Union of Palestinian Women which replaced boycotting delegates with a slate of new members, told journalists that in accordance with PNC bylaws practised in past PNC sessions, the head of a union or organisation submits a list of delegates representing that particular union

Yasir Arafat and Sheikh Abdel Hamid Sayeh, newly elected chairman of the PNC.

Also boycotting the Amman session, in addition to the Democratic Alliance, were the Fatah dissidents, headed by Abu Mousa, and other factions of the National Alliance. A number of calls were made to dismiss the dissident Fatah members who attacked Arafat loyalists in the Palestinian refugee camps in Tripoli. The PNC assembly recommended the dismissal of: Ahmad Jibril, head of the PFLP-GC; Samir Ghosheh, head of the Popular Struggle Front; and Fadel Shrouru, spokesperson of the PFLP-GC. The issue was referred to the legal committee for a decision. Fatah dissidents Elias Shoufani and Samih Abu Kweik were recommended for suspension of membership.

New Chairman Elected

After a decison to oust Khaled al-Fahoum from his post as PNC chairman for refusing to convene the meeting in Amman, council members elected November 23 77-year-old Sheikh Abd al-Hamid Sayeh, a West Bank deportee and former Jordanian cabinet minister in charge of *waqf*, as the new chairman. Fatah central committee member Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) had proposed Fahoum's replacement.

The PNC chairmanship agreed not to have an open discussion on the issue but instead to put it to an immediate vote. PNC members then voted 207 in favour of ousting Fahoum to 7 against, and 11 abstaining. Fahoum was kept, however, as a member in the PNC.

Abu Iyad then nominated Sheikh Sayeh as chairman. In a secret ballot council members voted 188 in favour of the sheikh to seven opposed, with 11 abstaining.

Arafat Submits Resignation

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat presented his resignation as head of the organisation to the PNC political committee late November 27. Arafat said he had intended to announce his resignation during the opening PNC session but was advised not to do so in order not to embarrass King Hussein, who was present during the opening session.

PNC spokesperson Ahmad Abd al-Rahman told journalists that Arafat presented his resignation after explaining to the committee his reasons behind the controversial visit to Cairo in 1983. At the morning session November 28 Chairman Sayeh told delegates he had urged Arafat to allow the delegates themselves to decide whether Arafat's resignation should be accepted or not. When Arafat arrived at the session, he was greeted with applause and was carried to the podium on the shoulders of several delegates. Sheikh Sayeh told Arafat, "You are not the property of yourself. You are a soldier in this revolution, and you step down when the people ask yout to and you continue when the people want you to." Arafat's resignation was

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Israelis Bomb Palestinian Bases in Beqa'a

In the first Israeli air raid in the Lebanese Beqa'a since the Labour coalition government took power in September, war planes attacked Palestinian positions in Bar Elias November 27, killing three people and injuring five, according to Lebanese military sources.

Six Israeli air force jets attacked military bases of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Israeli reports said positions of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Lebanese Communist Party were also hit and that seven people died and nine civilians were injured.

Since the latest attack coincides with the convening of the PNC in Amman some political analysts see it as a signal to confirm Israel's negative position on the issue of recognising and negotiating with the PLO.

The Israeli Communist Party daily organ *Al Ittihad* reported that several Israeli leaders declared their refusal to negotiate with the PLO "even on the basis of King Hussein's proposals." The paper said that the air force attack is meant to stengthen Israel's position at the negotiation table in Ras al-Naqoura. Israel and Lebanon are currently meeting over Israeli military withdrawal from south Lebanon. Israeli military sources on the other hand described the air attack as "routine" and said it was meant as "a part of the process of preempting terror whenever possible by attacking it at its source."

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Life Sentence for King George St. Commandos

The Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced two POWs, both residents of Lebanon, to life imprisonment on charges of participating in a commando attack on King George street in West Jerusalem last April. The attack resulted in one Israeli dead and tens of others injured.

Lawyer for Amjad Mustafa Rabiyah, 21, a Palestinian from a refugee camp in South Lebanon, and Wafiq Yousef Zalha, 21, a Lebanese Druse, told reporters the sentences were unduly "harsh."

Jerusalem advocate Abed Assali plans to appeal Zalha's sentence because he was only convicted of being an accomplice to the attack. He was accused of driving Rabiyah to and from the scene. Assali told *Al Fajr* that Israelis from the Jewish terror underground who are accused of transporting mines and of plotting to blow up al-Aqsa Mosque received only five to 10 year terms.

Assali had insisted that the military court treat the accused as prisoners-of-war who are not subject to trial, in accordance with international law, but was overruled. He pointed out that the military earlier accused Zalha of attacking an Israeli army patrol in south Lebanon. The military court ruled that according to existing Israeli law, the government was allowed to try the accused in an Israeli military court.

A third member of the commando group was killed during a battle between Israeli gunmen and the commandos. Eyewitnesses told journalists that many of the injured Israelis had been hurt as a result of random shooting by panicky armed Israeli civilians.

The commando had planned to take hostages at the nearby Tourism Ministry but were unable to reach the building and instead opened fire on passersby along King George street.

Demonstrations Mark Palestine Partition Day

Palestinian residents in the occupied territories marked the 37th anniversary of the UN partition plan and the sixth anniversary of International Day-in-Solidarity with the Palestinian People by demonstrations, protests, stoning of Israeli vehicles, rallies and wall graffiti.

Israeli authorities increased troop and police strength in various areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to thwart Palestinian demonstrators. Students in Jerusalem, Ramallah, Bethlehem and Gaza did not attend classes. An Israeli Egged bus No. 41 was stoned near Shufat in north Jerusalem and its windows smashed.

A number of youths in Bethlehem threw stones at the local police station. Soldiers used gunfire to disperse protesters and arrested youths. Residents in Nuseirat and Jabalya camps in Gaza demonstrated.

The UN partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states was rejected in 1947 by the local Palestinian leadership and Arab countries. In 1978, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution drafted by members from Asian, African, and Latin American countries who support the Palestinian cause to set aside partition day as an International Day-in-Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 239, November 30, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors 12
Number of articles partially censored but used . . . . . :2
Number of articles passed 10

Attacks Increase As Lebanese Resistance Tallies Strikes

During the week Lebanese resistance forces stepped up attacks on Israeli occupation forces and the South Lebanon Army (SLA). In the attacks an Israeli settler became Israel's 603rd fatality in Lebanon. Control of south Lebanon is still under negotiation while Israeli demonstrators called on their government to investigate Israeli conduct in the war in Lebanon.

In its monthly report on the military situation, the Lebanese resistance movement announced it carried out 79 attacks on Israeli occupation forces and the SLA since October 23. It claimed 54 attacks against Israeli forces, 25 on the Israeli-backed SLA and the National Guard militia.

A Golan Heights settler, Samal-Rishon Cohen, 40, died November 26 of wounds sustained in Lebanon November 12 in an ambush in the Jibshit area of south Lebanon. He became the 603rd Israeli fatality in Lebanon. A group of women settlers from the Golan telegrammed Israeli Chief of Staff Moshe Levy not to send Golan settlers to Lebanon in one unit. "The pressure is intolerable," they said.

A SLA soldier was wounded in an attack in Nabatiyeh November 25. Resistance forces had mounted few attacks on the SLA in the Nabatiyeh area compared to other areas of south Lebanon. The incident was seen as an escalation of resistance activities. Later on in the day two residents of al-Bus refugee camp in Tyre were assassinated by Lebanese gunmen. South Lebanese sources said that the two men were known collaborators with the Israeli army.

In an attack on an Israeli patrol near Haboush, a village four kilometres north of Nabatiyeh, November 23 two soldiers were wounded. The soldiers were attacked by gunmen carrying light weapons and rocked-propelled grenades.

In Tel Aviv a group of relatives of Israeli soldiers killed and wounded in Lebanon demonstrated November 23 in front of the Israeli defence ministry and called for an end to the war. The demonstrators also collected signatures on a petition calling on the Israeli prime minister to set up a commission of inquiry into the handling of the occupation of Lebanon.

Talks between Israel and Lebanon on Israeli troop withdrawal slowed this week because of wide differences over who is to control south Lebanon and on the role of the UN peace forces after the withdrawal of the Israeli army. Talks between military officials began in Ras al-Naqoura two weeks ago under UN supervision.

The Lebanese delegation insisted that UNIFIL be positioned along the border area now controlled by the Israeli army and its surrogate, the irregular South Lebanon Army. The area north of the strip must be controlled by the regular Lebanese army, Lebanon is insisting. Israel rejected the Lebanese proposal November 29. The Israeli delegation wants UNIFIL to be in control of only the northern sector, which the Israeli army now holds.

20 Groups Host Parisian Palestine Seminar

More than 20 human rights and Palestinian solidarity organisations in France hosted a half-day seminar November 24 on conditions in the occupied territories. The seminar took place as planned in the cultural hall in Paris, despite sabotage threats by an unknown extremist group.

Conference organisers were barred from entering the Parisian hall for one hour because members of the extremist group soldered the main gate shut. A warning note left at the gate was signed the "Anti-Terrorist Movement." The group threatened the pro-Palestinian organizations with further sabotage unless they ceased support for "terrorists."

The conference, entitled "Six Hours for the Rights of Palestinians Living in the Occupied Territories," was attended by over 400 people. The gathering featured music, lectures and discussions on conditions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

A three-man Palestinian group 'Imad" and a progressive Israeli singer Sarah Alexander gave short concerts before the lectures and discussions began. An art show by "Al-Ard," a Palestinian artists group, was also on display.

Rita Giacaman, a Bir Zeit health researcher currently at Essex University in Britain, spoke about the general situation in Palestine and the health situation in the occupied territories.

Yosef Elgazi, deputy of the Israel Human Rights League, spoke on conditions of Palestinian workers. Elgazi detailed the economic, social and political problems facing Palestinian workers, most of whom must work as "black labourers" in Israeli factories. He explained Israeli measures which obstruct the efforts of Palestinian unions. Elgazi also spoke of the negative role the Israeli labour federation *Histadrut* played towards Palestinian workers, who have few or no workers' rights.

Daoud Kuttab, a journalist for *Al Fajr* English Weekly, gave the audience an up-to-date report on the latest events in the occupied territories. He described the recent killing of two Palestinian youths at Bir Zeit University and in Ramallah, and the brutality of the Israeli army in forbidding the transfer of the injured to hospital.

Kuttab also spoke on the problems of Jiftlik Valley farmers who recently had their temporary shelters demolished by the military.

Kuttab pointed to the hypocrisy of official Israeli statements about improving the quality of life for Palestinians. None of the promises have been carried out, said Kuttab, and are hypocritical in light of recent military actions.

Israeli attorney Amnon Zichroni told the French audience that fascism in Israel is on rise and spreading. Zichroni also discussed the army's and settlers' continuous violations of the rule of law in the occupied territories.

A representative of Amnesty International in Paris described conditions of Palestinian political prisoners and their suffering at the hands of Israeli jailers.

A local university professor announced at the meeting that a telegramme signed by 70 French professors was sent to Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and the Ramallah military governor protesting the killing of two students in Bir Zeit and Ramallah.

Rafah 'Mayor' Arrested on Drug Charge

Police in the southern Gaza Strip arrested Rafah's newly appointed mayor Suleiman Zo'rub November 23, and charged him with "illicit drug trafficking." Zo'rub, a pharmacist by profession, was appointed mayor October 3 following the assassination of former mayor Abd al-Hamid Qishta, also a military appointee.

Sources in Rafah say that the mayor was arrested following a secret police operation labeled 'Qatif' (the name of an Israeli settlement bloc in Gaza) in which 50 Rafah residents were arrested over the last two weeks. The Palestinian sources say the general feeling among Rafah residents is one of shock and disbelief. Some residents say Zo'rub was framed.

The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* claimed that police have strong evidence against Zo'rub but did not elaborate. The paper indicated he would be tried in the near future.

Advocate Khaled Qudra told *Al Fajr* that he has officially requested Zo'rub's release for lack of evidence. He also predicted that instead of putting the mayor on trial, "the authorities will release him and formally apologise for the ordeal." Zo'rub is being held in al-Majdal prison in the Gaza Strip.

Zo'rub's wife, Sabah, told *Al Fajr* that police searched their house and found no evidence of drugs. She said that the arrest of her husband came as a shock to her: "He is an extremely lawful man and could not have dealt in drugs." She said her husband was not acquainted with any of the 50 persons arrested in the police operation.

Sabah Zo'rub said that her husband's arrest "may be politically motivated" because of his activity in trying to improve

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Murdered Youths Receive Patriotic Burials

The funeral procession for Bakr Abdullah, at Nabi Saleh village.

Several hundred residents of Nabi Saleh village attended the November 23 funeral of Palestinian martyr Bakr Abdullah, 21, who was killed by Israeli soldier gunfire in Ramallah the day before.

Residents shouted slogans and sang Palestinian nationalist songs as an Israeli military helicopter hovered over the mourning crowd at low altitude. Soldiers had earlier blocked all roads leading to the village to prevent Palestinians from other areas from joining the funeral. The body was buried in the village cemetery.

Abdullah's father told *Al Fajr* his son was in Ramallah by chance November 22 to purchase a new suit for his upcoming wedding when he was killed by soldiers shooting at demonstrators. He said that his son's death can only symbolise the unrelenting dedication of all Palestinians to their cause and legitimate leadership, the PLO.

Also on the night of November 22 Bir Zeit University student Sharaf al-Tibi, 23, was buried in Khan Yunis cemetery. Israeli soldiers allowed only 10 members of the immediate family to attend the burial. Al-Tibi was martyred by Israeli soldiers during a student demonstration at Bir Zeit November 21.

Youths staged a stone-throwing demonstration at Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip following al-Tibi's late-night burial.

According to the Arabic daily *Al Sha'ab*, several thousand Palestinians flooded into Khan Yunis November 22 to offer condolences to the martyr's family. They staged a demonstration in which they carried Palestinian flags and several people spoke and condemned the murder of al-Tibi.

Soldiers Shoot into Nablus Crowd, Seriously Wound Youth

Nablus youth Iyhab Manna', 19, was seriously wounded in the chest by gunfire November 27 when Israeli border police shot at a group of demonstrators in the centre of the northern West Bank city.

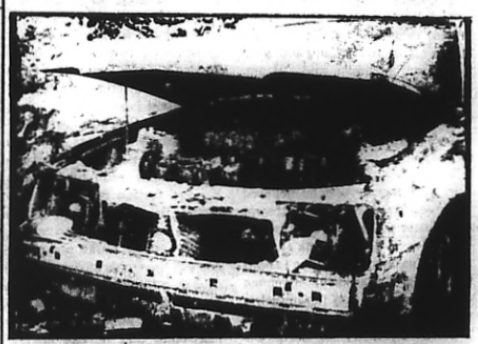
The wounded youth was transferred immediately to a Nablus hospital where he received first-aid treatment. He was later rushed to the Israeli Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem where an eight-hour operation to extract the bullet was performed. Nablus Hospital sources said the bullet had lodged near Manna's spine. The youth is in intensive care in Hadassa in serious condition.

The Israeli English daily *The Jerusalem Post* claimed that "the border police fired shots in the air, but since the mob continued to throw stones, the police fired at the legs of the demonstrators. It was then that the young man was wounded." The paper did not explain how the youth was shot in the chest.

Local Nablus sources reported that the demonstration was in support of the Palestine National Council meeting in Amman. The demonstrators raised the Palestinian flag and anti-occupation banners.

The shooting was the third of its kind by Israeli soldiers in the past 10 days. Two young men were killed in Bir Zeit and Ramallah November 21 and 22, and nine others wounded when Israeli soldiers fired directly into crowds of demonstrators.

Physician's Car Torched



The car belonging to Jerusalem physician Sufian Khatib was burnt in an attack early November 24 by unknown arsonists. The arson followed similar attacks during the past week against other Palestinian figures. Khatib's family owns and runs *Al Mithaq* newspaper which has been staunchly opposed to the meeting of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) in Amman.

Khatib, a gastroenterologist, told *Al Fajr* he was awakened at 3:00 am Saturday morning by passersby who informed him his car was on fire. By this time Khatib's 1983 Opel Escona was destroyed. Khatib, who lives in the Jerusalem suburb of Beit Hanina, said a gas bottle which still smelled of gas fumes was seen nearby.

Khatib told *Al Fajr* he believes the attack was the work of persons attempting to fuel dissension among the Palestinian people.

Cars belonging to Palestinian publisher Raymonda Tawil and Ramallah mayor Karim Khalaf were attacked in a similar fashion last week. Both Tawil and Khalaf came out in support of the PNC meeting.

All three attacks were denounced by national institutions and personalities. The daily newspapers and the Arab Journalists' Association condemned the attacks as attempts at muzzling freedom of expression.

Al Mithaq also denounced the attack on Khatib's car as an attempt to exacerbate dissension among Palestinians. "If the mercenaries who committed this crime felt that they would exploit political differences and convert them into criminal, disgusting acts, they are no doubt dreaming," commented *Al Mithaq*.

Israelis Try to Harass Residents Into Vacating Camps

Palestinian residents of Dheisheh and Aroub refugee camps in the Bethlehem and Hebron districts charged increasing harassment by Israeli settlers and military authorities is meant to intimidate and terrorise people into leaving the camps.

Settlers distributed threatening leaflets in the camps November 25 and then roamed the camp and set up checkpoints at the two entrances still open to the camp. Israeli security forces backed up the settlers and later ordered all men aged 14 to 50 to gather in the camp square for long stretches of time. Israeli authorities reported that settlers' actions were in response to incidents of stone-throwing against passing Israeli vehicles.

A Jerusalem lawyer who has clients in Aroub refugee camp said he expects settlers will commit a massacre in a Palestinian camp soon.

Moshe Levinger, prominent in the right-wing Gush Emunim movement, is still parked at the entrance of Dheisheh camp. Levinger began his sit-in October 10 to demand punishment for stone-throwers. Palestinian sources from the camp reported that Levinger's presence is an act of on-going provocation against the refugees.

Hassan Abdel Jawad, a resident in Dheisheh, told *Al Fajr*, "The Dheisheh residents believe the settlers are pressuring Israeli authorities either to force residents out or to demolish the first row of homes overlooking the main Jerusalem – Hebron road."

A group of settlers belonging to the *Hagana Marhavit* movement (District Defence) distributed leaflets November 25 signed by "the West Bank and Gaza Strip Settlements Council" in which camp residents were threatened with violence if they did not vacate Dheisheh. The leaflet, written in Hebrew and Arabic, read: "We have asked the government to evacuate the camp and distribute its residents in various places;" and, "Purge yourselves of stone-throwers, murderers, terrorists and anarchists."

The leaflet threatened the refugees with the same fate that befell Jaffa, Lydda and Ramle inhabitants in 1948. "We know that not all of you are killers and we know that some of you are under pressure of the terrorist organisations. We demand you notify your sons of the truth. Did you inform them that you came from Ramle and Jaffa? Yes, but you never notified them why and how you came here. You never told them that your fathers in Ramle stoned the Jews. You never told them that your fathers opened fire from the Hassan Bek mosque against Jews. You never told them that your fathers were pleased at the killing of Jews in Jaffa, just as residents of Dheisheh were happy about the murder of two Israelis in Cremisan."

MK Tawfiq Toubi of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) submitted the question of Dheisheh camp to Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin on the Knesset floor November 26. Toubi noted that settlers distributed the threatening leaflet under the protection of Israeli borderguards. Toubi, who read out the leaflet to Knesset members, said camp residents are suffering from the recurrent imposition of curfews and an atmosphere of terror. He pointed out that Levinger has made himself a permanent fixture outside the camp and charged that Israeli authorities in coordination with settlers plan to liquidate the camp and evacuate residents.

Toubi said that Israeli authorities are using the murder of two Israelis in the Cremisan area to incite against residents of Dheisheh as if they were all responsible for the killings. "Levinger and other settlers have transformed Dheisheh camp into a ghetto by sealing all entrances to the camp," he said. He told Knesset members that collective punishment is a daily event in Dheisheh. More than 100 young men from Dheisheh camp are currently detained in Fara'a centre. Most were arrested without charges.

The MK also read the testimony of a reservist about the instructions Israeli soldiers receive in the occupied territories: "Last week I came back after doing service in the West Bank. We spent three days receiving training and instructions. The local governor field officer and intelligence officer told us: 'It is clear you are going to fight kids. If there is a demonstration and stoning incident (even if only one person is involved or a kid of 16) you must shout: stop or we'll shoot. If he continues, you must shoot at his legs.' But if a kid throws a stone from 20 to 30 metres away, how is it possible to know that he is 16? The

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Arab MK Heads for PNC in Amman

Arab Knesset member Abdel Wahab Darawsheh (Labour) attempted to obtain a visa to Jordan November 27 by travelling through Athens. At party insistence, Darawsheh cancelled his plans and returned home November 29. In the controversial move, Darawsheh was reportedly trying to reach Amman to attend the Palestine National Council (PNC) meetings.

Abdel Wahab Darawsheh

The move sparked a debate in the coalition government with Labour officials trying to contact Darawsheh to return home and Likud officials calling for a withdrawal of his parliamentary immunity.

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and others in the Labour Alignment said they did not know beforehand of Darawsheh's intention to visit the PNC. Alignment branch secretary in the eastern Galilee, Aref Suleiman, told *Al Fajr* that Darawsheh's visit to Jordan came as a surprise. Suleiman said, "I am his close friend, but he did not mention his plan when we met to draft his activities schedule last Friday."

Suleiman said he believed the visit was meant as an attempt to foster peace between the two peoples. 'I do not think there is coordination between the Labour party and Darawsheh," Suleiman said. He added that Darawsheh is at liberty to do whatever he deems necessary to serve the cause of peace unless an official order prohibits him.

"For my part," said Suleiman, "I support this visit which will increase the pressure on the PLO to recognize UN resolution 242." Suleiman said the PLO speaks two different languages: formally they do not recognize this resolution but informally they make rapprochements with supporters of regional peace.

The PLO restated its rejection of UN resolution 242 at the PNC meeting in Amman. The PLO objects to the resolution's reference to Palestinians merely as refugees and to its failure to mention an independent Palestinian state.

Darawsheh's move caused an uproar in Israeli government circles. Former Israeli Ambassador to Egypt and head of the Knesset's Security Relations Committee, Eliyahu Ben Elissar, demanded that Darawsheh's parliamentary immunity be lifted, and criminal charges brought against him.

Palestinian publisher Raymonda Tawil denied an Israel TV report November 27 that she arranged Darawsheh's visit by interceding with the PLO. Tawil denied any knowledge of the Darawsheh affair. She claimed the Israeli report was part of an Israeli media campaign against her.

Five Jews, including Israeli citizens, attended the PNC session in Amman. They include Uri Davis, an anti-Zionist Professor in Britain, Elan Halevy, PLO representative at the Socialist International, and Amnon Kapeliuk, correspondent for the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharanot* and the French daily *Le Monde*.

A number of Israelis and members of Knesset have held public meetings with PLO officials in the past. Previous efforts to try figures for meeting foreign agents were thwarted by Israeli Justice Minister Zamir, who ruled that public meetings do not violate present Israeli law.

Darawsheh's Knesset secretary said the MK was to return to Israel Thursday night, November 29. The head of Labour's Knesset faction reportedly contacted Darawsheh who was in Athens and asked him to return. Heated debate broke out in the Knesset November 28 over Darawsheh's attempted visit. Some Knesset members demanded Darawsheh be punished if it was discovered that he had not received permission to make the trip from the concerned authorities. Other Knesset members, including Mohammed Wattad from Mapam and Mohammed Mi'ari from the Progressive list for Peace, said that Darawsheh's trip to Jordan should be considered a peaceful mission. It was also argued that Darawsheh went to try and persuade PNC members to abandon armed struggle and to recognise Israel. Some said Darawsheh's visit to Jordan should not be construed as solidarity with the PNC meeting.

Darawsheh applied in Nicosia and then in Athens for a visa to Jordan and was still waiting when he cancelled the trip. Jordanian authorities reportedly refused to grant Darawsheh an entry visa into the country.

A responsible source in the PLO in Tunisia said Israeli media reports about the proposed visit were incorrect. Israel army radio had claimed that arrangements for Darawsheh's visit were made through Hassan al-Batal, whom the radio described as a "liason man". The PLO statement refuted the claim and said that, in fact, al-Batal is managing editor for *Filastin al-Thawra* magazine and his duties are merely journalistic.

The Palestinian source said that most of the reports of the visit were incorrect and created confusions which provided opposition circles with weapons that would later be used against the PNC and its political decisions.

Israeli Progressive Lawyer Threatened

Vandals damaged the door of progressive Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer's Jerusalem office November 25 and scribbled threatening graffiti on it.

The vandals tore out the electric bell from Langer's door, and wrote threats including: "Felicia Langer (PLO), your death is near."

Langer, an active advocate for Palestinian political prisoners and land cases, believes that members of the Kach extremist group are behind the incident.

In an interview with the Haifa-based Communist daily *Al Ittihad*, Langer said that "since the increase of activities of the fascist terrorist Kach movement, I don't dismiss the possibility that they are behind the threats." Langer informed the Jerusalem police and submitted an official complaint.

BZU Condemns Military Murder of Student

BIR ZEIT — Bir Zeit University declared November 22 a day of mourning to mark the brutal death of Bir Zeit student Sharaf Khalil Hassan al Tibi, a fifth-year honours engineering student who was shot and killed by Israeli soldiers in Bir Zeit November 21. In a press release, Bir Zeit University reviewed the circumstances of al-Tibi's death:

"Today, we mourn and remember Sharaf — an excellent and dedicated student whose love of life, integrity, intelligence and commitment to his people will long keep his memory alive... among all his fellow students and teachers. Today, we are also determined to take all possible action to prevent any repetition of this tragedy caused by the use of raw and indiscriminate force by the army against defenceless students. We therefore urge all friends of academic freedom around the world to join us in a campaign with one simple goal: STOP KILLING OUR STUDENTS!

"We especially emphasise the urgency of protesting the unconscionable, inhuman and illegal delays that soldiers put in the way of ambulances and private cars transporting injured students to hospitals in Jerusalem and Ramallah. We note:

"1. The private car transporting Sharaf al-Tibi and another injured student to Ramallah Hospital was delayed for *one half hour* at an army checkpoint despite the driver appealing to the three soldiers that Sharaf was dying. Sharaf was then unconscious and bleeding profusely from a bullet wound in his chest. The soldiers threatened to kill a woman who approached the car to plead for Sharaf and also threatened to kill the driver and passengers. They seized the driver's license and the identity cards of the passengers, keeping one of the passengers as a hostage. They also banged on the car and taunted its passengers.

"2. An army checkpoint near the post office in Bir Zeit barred an ambulance from Makassed Hospital in Jerusalem from entering the town to transport the injured to the hospital. As a result, private cars not only had to transport Sharaf but four other wounded students as well to hospital.

"3. The ambulance from Ramallah Hospital transporting a student seriously wounded by a bullet wound in the chest was delayed for a quarter of an hour at an army checkpoint as it was leaving Bir Zeit.

"Sharaf died en route to Ramallah Hospital — a few minutes away from emergency treatment. Bir Zeit University believes the delay at the army checkpoint clearly contributed to the death of Sharaf al-Tibi.

"Sharaf was among four students who sustained grave injuries from bullet wounds: two suffered chest wounds, one a serious knee injury which paralysed his lower leg, and another had a bullet rip through his toes. Such serious injuries underline that the army was 'shooting to kill.' The rain of bullets that fell on university offices and all parts of the campus is also physical proof of the army's indiscriminate use of high-velocity live ammunition.

"Even after students were trapped inside the campus and the situation was quiet, the army persisted and entered inside the walls of the Old Campus. As a team of administrators from the university was meeting with Colonel Maurice Bar-Kochba to discuss the exit of students from the university, soldiers entered the student cafeteria and began smashing furniture. When this was pointed out to Colonel Maurice, the military governor of Ramallah, he at first claimed it must be students. When he saw with his own eyes the action of the soldiers, he finally gave orders to 'take down their names.' Bir Zeit University considers this violation of university property and the entrance of armed soldiers into a university campus to be a very serious matter.

"We point out that the news of death and injuries at Bir Zeit was suppressed for several hours on official government broadcasts. The authorities at first ascribed the events of the day to a clash among university students during the morning and even claimed that shots were fired from the campus. This was a transparent attempt to cover up the vindictive brutality of the army. When the facts became known, this 'official' version was not repeated.

"We also note the irony that the death of a student at army hands apparently led the military commander of the region to recommend the closure of Bir Zeit University. Defence Minister Rabin's decision not to close the university 'for the time being' is a statement designed to place the sword of Damocles over the head of our university community."

Ghanem Abu Ghanem, Bir Zeit University student, recuperating in Maqassed Hospital after the November 21 attack/AO photo

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Resolution 242

The Palestinian people have been struggling longer than King Hussein to be recognised as a people with national rights. Yet King Hussein of Jordan suggested November 22 in his opening speech of the 17th PNC session in Amman that UN Security Council Resolution 242 should be adhered to as a basis for a solution of the Palestinian problem, taking into consideration the current situation in the Palestinian, Arab and international arenas.

The famous resolution, despite its acceptance by all the states that were parties to the 1967 Israeli war against the Arab countries of Jordan, Egypt and Syria, has still not been implemented — 17 years after its unanimous adoption by the esteemed UN Security Council. It has not been implemented because those who proposed it and those who adopted it did not think beyond salving their consciences in a situation where most of them had nothing to lose.

Article 2 of the UN Charter specifies that it is not permissable for any member state to seize land of any other member state through the use of force. If the 15 members of the UN Security Council on November 22, 1967 wanted to work according to Article 2 of their own UN Charter they would not have adopted the wording of Article 1 clause (i) of Resolution 242 stating: "Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from *territories* occupied in *the recent conflict.* "

Such wording of the resolution and the efforts of the United Nations for six years to try to implement it proved that it is not possible to implement it.

As to the Palestinian people, now asked to accept the resolution by King Hussein, they were not even mentioned in this resolution. Yet if we want to naively accept that Article 2 clause (b) of the resolution stating "the necessity for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem" means the Palestinian refugees expelled from Palestine in 1948, the Palestinian people agree that the problem of the refugees is only one secondary aspect of the Palestinian question. Solving the refugee problem alone regardless of the method or the result does not necessarily solve the Palestinian question. How can any state or any individual accept Resolution 242 as a basis for solving the Palestinian question unless they want to ignore the existence of a Palestinian people with inalienable and resolute national rights? Certainly the Palestinian people themselves reject this resolution.

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James Abourezk:
No Change in US Middle East Policy

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

Former South Dakota Senator James Abourezk, in an interview on the results of the American elections and their effect on US policy in the Middle East, said he does not "really foresee any major change in America's Middle East policy." "No American initiative can be started without the approval of the Israel lobby in Washington," said Abourezk. Therefore, he concluded, no chance exists for a change in US policy towards Israel unless Arabs both in the United States and the Arab world become more active.

Abourezk, president of the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), argues that in order to affect a change in US foreign policy, an American president should have the will, energy and belief in what he wants to do, none of which Reagan has, according to Abourezk. "First of all, Reagan believes in what he is doing for Israel," he said. Second, even if he wanted to take the initiative, "he would have to worry about his political party [which is] subject to domestic pressures." Thirdly, even "if he tried to change [US policy] he would still have the Congress to face, which itself has not changed" in the last election. Those Arab governments who were hopeful that Reagan would be more objective in a second term "will probably be disappointed," said Abourezk.

American foreign policy in the Middle East will not change said Abourezk, even "though Reagan doesn't really owe anything to the Jewish vote," his share of which was 30 percent. Reagan, the former senator added, "has worked as a Zionist for years in Hollywood and he believes" in Zionism. Hollywood and the film industry in America are among those industries where support for Israel is unwavering due to Zionist control of the industry.

Ronald Reagan, a conservative Republican, has secured the support of corporate and 'upper class' America. It was initially believed that his presidency would therefore be more sensitive to Arab interests because of his supporters' financial investments in the Middle East. The facts, says Abourezk, do not support this theory, however. "I don't see where American business has made any effort to change any US policies on the Middle East. Neither the oil companies who work in the region nor the construction companies... none of them" have made any change in US policies, he says. "All they [American corporations] have done is take money out of the Middle East and put nothing back," Abourezk added. This, he continued is "a shame, and Arab governments have to do something about it."

Despite Reagan's overwhelming victory over his Democratic counterpart Walter Mondale, it is not being interpreted as a mandate for Reagan to take major new initiatives. Abourezk called Reagan's victory "a personal popularity vote for him," and said it is not a mandate to do anything new in the Middle East but to continue more of what has already been done. Reagan, he continued, "didn't campaign on the issue of pressuring Israel... [but the opposite]; he campaigned on the issue of not pressuring Israel."

If an American president wished to change his country's policies in the Middle East, Abourezk said, "what it takes... is for the president to spend a great deal of his own personal time and personal commitment." Dealing with Israel, he said, "is a full time job in itself," and Reagan is not going to do that. "He is ready to retire" to California, leaving the presidency in the hands of his staff, said Abourezk. Reagan, he continued, "is lazy" and even if he believes in doing something about Israel "he doesn't have the time to do it."

Abourezk considers the defeat of Senator Charles Percy, former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "unfortunate," though he doesn't believe the Jewish vote and the Middle East were primarily responsible. "What did make the difference" for Percy, he says, "was that Jews around the country put up money against Percy." Money, he added, "is the bottom line" in American elections. An American Jewish contributor to Percy's Democratic opponent is reported to have paid more than US$1 million to defeat Percy.

Abourezk believes that US policy in the Middle East is first and foremost a result of American Jewish pressure in the right places of government. "If a president tries to start [an initiative] without their approval, he explained, he gets cut down right away because they pressure Congress, who in turn pressures the president." US policy in the Middle East, the former senator said, "... is pretty much determined by the government of Israel through its lobby in Washington."

Abourezk, unlike other critics of US Middle East policy, disagrees with idea that America's industrial nature dictates its behavior and therefore no change is possible. He calls those who pursue this argument "copouts" because, he continued, they don't want to work to change US policy; if they say that US policy by its nature has to be what it is, then they are excused from trying to change it.

Abourezk would like to see Arab Americans play more of a role in the American elections. "We have to sort of struggle to push our way into American political [and] social life," he said.

There were two US representatives of Arab descent running for election in Ohio and West Virginia. Both were easily re-elected with a high percentage of the vote. Mary Rose Oukar, a Democrat from Ohio, was unopposed and won all the votes in her district. Nick J. Rahall, also a Democrat from West Virginia, won re-election with a majority of 67 percent of the vote. In Massachusetts, a Republican candidate for the Senate, Ray Shamie, lost his bid by 10 percent of the vote.

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

At the 17th PNC: Yasir Arafat greets the mother of French commando Francoise Castman killed on a PLO operation in south Lebanon: *"The Palestinian masses are more politicaly aware today."*

To the PNC:
A Voice from the Occupied Territories

by Munir Abu Khadra

For those of us who were too young to remember the first and second session of the Palestine National Council in Jerusalem in 1964 and 1965, the televised 17th PNC session in Amman this week is our first opportunity to observe a representative Palestinian body at work.

Watching the PNC in session has been a thrill for many of us. It is a whole new experience full of dreams of a hopeful future. Many of us have watched other democracies at work, but never knew the feelings experienced by these democracies' citizens until we watched the PNC members go at it in their 17th session. A long and bitter history, however, has taught us not to build up our hopes and not to trust whatever we see or hear, regardless of whether it comes from Palestinians or non-Palestinians.

For those of us who have read the history of the Palestinian conflict, the memories of events before and during the conflict that led to the 1947 partition of Palestine are still vivid. And so are the memories of the 1950 Jericho conference and what became of the West Bank in the years that followed.

Rafiq Natshe, the PLO representative to Saudi Arabia, was right when he said on Jordanian television on the eve of the PNC meeting that the Palestinian people have developed a complex from all the Arab regimes. Their experiences are many, and none have been good. These complexes force us to be wary of any Arab initiative intended to help our cause and to "direct" us to our salvation.

Many Arabs and Palestinians who said the Jericho conference of 1950 was democratic and representative of the Palestinian people voted to annex the West Bank — what remained of Palestine after the establishment of the Jewish state there in 1948 — to Jordan. The masses, however, did not seem to agree with those who were considered the Palestinian leadership. This disagreement was evident in the demonstrations and strong opposition to many developments in the West Bank under Jordanian rule.'

In 1984, we are watching another democracy at work talking about confederation with Jordan. However, there are two major differences: there is no Palestinian land left to annex and today's Palestinian masses, because of many past experiences, are more politically aware and mature than the 1950s generation.

When we say and persist in saying that the PLO is our sole representative, we mean that we give the PLO the vote of confidence it needs to negotiate on our behalf for a better life. Therefore we expect this leadership to carry out its duty faithfully and to act as a true representative of the people. This can be done by knowing what the masses want, not the few elite voices who seem unable to make up their own minds as to what they desire. It was the Palestinian masses who defeated Syrian attempts to hegemonise the PLO. By the same token, the Palestinian masses are able to defeat any other attempt to contain their representative body and freedom of decision.

We delegated our Palestinian representatives to talk on our behalf in order to give us a better future, not to take us back in time. We've come a long way and we are ready to keep on going until we get what we want — liberation and true freedom. We have not despaired yet.

A Privileged American Views BZU Tragedy

by Virginia Tilley

Mohammed Abu Orof, wounded in the Israeli military attack on Bir Zeit University November 21. One student died en route to the hospital: *"Open your eyes."*

November 22 — I stood in Maqassed Hospital today and watched grief. Crowds of Bir Zeit students — shaken, shocked — waited in the foyer or crowded anxiously around the Blood Bank or milled around in the parking lot searching for information, answers. Who died? Will the others live? Where are the families? The story of the shootings in Bir Zeit was told in pieces and details, all in Arabic, all outside my American world except a few minutes with one man who forced English out to me at this time when no such effort was easy.

Later I would hear,"You are shocked, but we are used to this. We must live with it all the time." The usual survival line. But I stood in that hospital with friends I'd feared dead, trapped on the wrong side of the language barrier and consequently alone in the crowd; and the isolation gave me a clear view of their suffering. There is no way to send that vision back to the U.S., which should see it. It is difficult even to span the ocean with the raw truth that soldiers and settlers shot without warning into an unarmed crowd of demonstrating students, drove them from the fallen bodies of their friends with teargas, followed them into the buildings of the campus and there demolished equipment and furnishings in wanton reprisal for a non-violent demonstration supporting the PNC meeting in Amman. The appalling ruthlessness of the attack was an injury in itself, written into the faces of every student who passes by. How do we tally this kind of damage? How do we count the wounded?

And how do I, an American,grieve with them? I am isolated in my privileges and traditions, stifled by English, hopelessly unimportant here at survival's core. An outsider must, at these times, weep alone and bear a different kind of burden.

I condemn this attack and urge everyone who can to hold it up to the light of public awareness, both here and abroad. I call on the Israeli government to investigate and prosecute those responsible for ordering the use of live ammunition. And I call on the Israeli people to open their eyes to what happened in Bir Zeit today and look past the excuses to the truth. Random, private violence is one thing but the deliberate acts of trained representatives of your security are quite another and call for all your concern and action.

Virginia Tilley is a student living temporarily in the West Bank.

Left: The family of Qasim Nahla watch the destruction of their home in Muaweya village. "Loses estimated at US$60,000" /AF photo

Palestinians in the Galilee, Triangle and Naqab — as well as residents of the occupied West Bank and Gaza — are being expelled from their homes, not by Israeli military forces as in 1948 and 1967, but by the long arm of the Israeli government. Catch-22 is that no houses can be built without Israeli licenses — and licenses are not readily given to Palestinians. This week's story of Muaweya village, by **Awad Abdel Fattah**, has a tragically familiar ring.

No Housing, No Licenses, Shrinking Land

In Muaweya Village - A House Destroyed

On November 14 Israeli bulldozers demolished a two-apartment house in Muaweya, itself a destroyed and rebuilt village, three kilometres from Um al-Fahm in the Triangle. Israeli authorities claimed the house was built without a permit and that it lay outside the boundaries delineated in the village plan approved by the Haifa planning commission in 1983.

Unbalanced Battle

On the demolition day, the village of Muaweya resembled a military camp. The Israeli army erected roadblocks at the village entrance. More than 40 jeeps full of soldiers and police proceeded to the targeted house.

Qasim Nahla, who had built the house for his two eldest sons, heard about the arrival of the troops from the village *mukhtar* at 11:00 am and immediately used the mosque's loudspeaker to call on the village for help. The villagers had already decided to strike when they learned of the intended demolition. Workers and schoolchildren who were home when they heard the call quickly marched to the targeted house forming a human barricade around it. Others climbed onto the roof. The Nahla family remained at the site and refused to obey army orders to evacuate their belongings.

A battle erupted. Israeli border-guards attempted to remove villagers from the premises with teargas. The people retaliated by throwing stones. Ibrahim Mahamid, a villager at the scene of the clash, described it thus: "The whole place was smothered in tear gas. People were fainting and falling down... on the other side, women cried and shouted at the brutality of the soldiers who were mercilessly beating the defenders of the house with clubs." Another witness said that some people "refused to move and threw tear gas bombs back at the soldiers, who had fired large numbers of them."

The struggle went on for about an hour. Five people from each side were wounded. Finally all defenders were pushed away except Qasim's son. He remained on the roof until the bulldozers touched the walls.

The elderly Nahla told *Al Fajr* that several villagers volunteered to evacuate his sons' furniture right before the bulldozers began their wrecking. Border-guards stepped in to stop the volunteers and then arrested them. All of the furniture, valued at US$7,000, was destroyed.

Meanwhile the two families evicted from the destroyed house are temporarily living with Qasim Nahla. Reconstruction on the same plot of land would be considered a violation of the "law." Their only hope is to rebuild on land donated by other villagers. Such a solution, while alleviating the Nahla's plight, will not resolve the village's landshortage problem on a permanent and satisfactory basis.

The problem of 'no housing, no licenses, shrinking land' is commonly felt among Palestinians in the Galilee and Triangle. Villagers formed a local committee to raise donations to compensate the Nahla family's property loss estimated at US$60,000. According to one committee member, inhabitants of Muaweya and other villages have been donating generously.

History Repeated

Qasim Nahla grew up in al-Kafrin, a village razed by the Israelis in 1948. Kibbutz Dalia stands in its place today. His family escaped to nearby Um al-Fahm, and a few years later moved to Muaweya. "It is too painful to see one's house destroyed twice," said Nahla. "If I want to build another house, I will have to work ten years," he added. Muaweya's inhabitants originally migrated from Um al-Fahm, the largest Arab town in the Triangle. Over the years, they moved westward onto Um al-Fahm agricultural lands and in time clustered into an independent village.

A few months after the declaration of Israel's establishment in 1948, the village of Muaweya was also razed. Abd al-Raouf Mohammed, then a leading member of the community, recalls that three armed Israeli tanks entered the village and ordered the population to gather in its centre. Mohammed and the *mukhtar* were told to notify the population that they should leave. "We were shocked, especially when we recalled the conditions of our brothers some months before when the Israelis wiped out hundreds of Palestinian villages," he recalled.

Mohammed went to the milita governor to learn what he could. The governor denied any knowledge of such a plan. Much to his surprise, Mohammed found Muaweya in rubble when he returned. It later emerged that the decision to destroy the village had been taken by the military leader on the scene, not by the government. Residents were therefore allowed to return and rebuild Muaweya — but without compensation.

Growing Pains

Out of 165,000 dunums, Um al-Fahm and its neighbouring villages retained only 25,000 after Israeli land confiscations in 1948. As the population grew over the years, the land available for housing shrank. Residents had little choice but to build outside designated construction areas. As a result, about 60 percent of the houses in the area are unlicensed, despite heavy fines imposed by the Israeli government.

When villagers apply for permits to build outside government-designated areas, their applications are either ignored or rejected. But there is no room in the town-sized villages within government designated areas, most of which have not been expanded since 1948.

The root of the problem lies in the fact that master plans of more than 90 percent of Palestinian villages and towns have not been allowed to expand since 1948. Since 1970, 104 Palestinian villages have applied for expansion of their residential areas. Only 11 have been approved.

Heads of Palestinian local councils have accused the Israelis of deliberate refusals. "The Israeli government," said Raja Khatib, head of the Deir Hanna local council, "has been trying to restrict the expansion of Arab villages and towns in Israel on a discriminatory basis." He added that the Israelis want to reserve the land for Jewish settlements. "The chain of settlements surrounding most Palestinian villages and towns are clear-cut evidence for what I am saying," Khatib added.

There is another obstacle placed by the Israeli government before those who wish to build houses. In 1948, the Israelis confiscated the most fertile land belonging to Um al-Fahm and area villages, the al-Lajoun plain, estimated at thousands of dunums. Since then, the surviving owners have been banned from entering the rich agricultural land and it is now being cultivated by Israelis. But the Israeli government has tried to make the confiscation legal by extracting signatures from the owners. The owners have been asked to testify that they sold their lands before the founding of the state of Israel. Towards this purpose the Israelis have been using pressure, threats, or depriving residents of certain rights (such as the right to a building license) to force their signatures. So far, only a small number of owners have succumbed.

So those who own lands in the plain and want to build houses in their villages, are not given construction licenses until they sign that they have sold or exchanged their land in Lajoun with the so-called Israel land administration. Even owners of land in the village who share the deed with a relative who is in exile cannot obtain a permit without the exchange. In order to retain their agricultural land — and livelihood — a great number of people defy this "unjust law — houses are pulled down.

The village of Muaweya is one of the few to receive a new master plan since 1948. Before its finalization by the Haifa planning committee in February 1983, nine Muaweya residents requested that a 20 dunum plot — upon which they had already built homes — be included in the plan. Qasim Nahla, owner of the destroyed house, was one of the nine.

The committee rejected their request on the pretext that the existing plan included sufficient land for the village's 2000 residents.

Nahla told *Al Fajr* that he bought his two dunum plot because no other land was available within the plan's borders. His application for a building permit went unanswered. He told *Al Fajr* that he proceeded to build anyway "because I can't wait. My house is too small for a large family." Nahla's two eldest sons, Mohammed, 21, and Khalid, 19, both married in August and moved into the new house.

Implausible Planners

While the house was being built, the planning committee's inspector arrived and ordered the Nahla brothers to cease construction.

Later on, the planning committee ordered all nine residents who had built outside village boundaries to alter the design of their plots. Streets were to be eight metres wide, and houses should have gardens. They complied, certain that attention to such details would ensure the plot's inclusion in the new

continued on page 15

The Question of Jerusalem

The last in a series by **Henry Cattan** on The Question of Jerusalem. Cattan is a native of Jerusalem. His family fled their West Jerusalem home in 1948. Cattan, a historian, now lives in exile.

Israeli soldiers at the Western Wall after the 1967 war: *"Israel will not evacuate Jerusalem or rescind any of its acts without coercion."*

Orthodox Jews celebrate the beginning of the occupation at the Wall in 1967: *"It is inadmissible that the Israelis, who represent a fraction of one percent of the hundreds of millions of believers to whom Jerusalem is holy and sacred,... should be allowed to flout the will of the international community and to court disaster."*

Remedial Measures

It is not difficult to see what measures of redress are required to restore the character of Jerusalem and to protect its Holy Places. Broadly speaking, they comprise the following:

(1) Evacuation by Israel of the corpus separatum *of the City of Jerusalem as defined by General Assembly Resolution 181 of 1947.*

Although UN resolutions adopted since 1967, starting with Security Council Resolution 242, have laid emphasis on withdrawal from "the territories occupied in 1967," this does not and cannot mean a recognition of any right for Israel to remain in occupation of Modern Jerusalem or of other parts of the *corpus separatum*. Although Resolution 181 of 1947 was not applied or respected, yet it was not abrogated and it is still valid and operative. A resolution of the UN does not lose its validity by reason of opposition thereto or of its non-application.

In fact, several of the UN resolutions adopted since 1967 have invoked the "status" or "legal status" of Jerusalem to declare the invalidity of Israel's actions. Such status is identical for both the Old City and the rest of the *corpus separatum*. The inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war is equally applicable to territories seized by Israel in excess of the partition resolution, regardless whether such seizure took place in 1948 or in 1967.

(2) Repatriation of the Palestinians who were displaced from Jerusalem in 1948 and 1967 and restitution of their homes and lands.

This is a right recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international law and by scores of UN resolutions. The implementation of this right is an act of elementary justice and is indispensble to restore the character of Jerusalem.

(3) Annulment of all administrative and legislative measures taken since 1948 by Israel in Jerusalem which alter the status, demographic composition and historical character of Jerusalem, including expropriations of land and properties and transfer of populations.

Although all these measures were specifically declared to be null and void by several UN resolutions adopted since 1967 with regard to the Old City, the nullity extends to the same measures taken by Israel in other parts of the *corpus separatum*.

The implementation of the above measures of redress would require UN action and supervision. This could be achieved by placing the *corpus separatum* of the City of Jerusalem under UN trusteeship as a conservatory measure pending a final settlement of the Palestine Question. It may be remarked that the concept of a temporary UN trusteeship over the territories occupied in 1967 was suggested by the Arab States in the Fez peace plan of August 1981.

The taking by the UN of conservatory and protective measures in order to arrest the process of the judaization of Jerusalem, to rescind Israel's unlawful actions which violate its status, and to preserve the religious and historic heritage of the world in the Holy City is dictated by the obligation of the UN to honour the guarantee which it assumed in 1947 with regard to Holy Places, and religious and minority rights.

Chapter Four of Part One C of Resolution 181 stated: "The provisions of chapters one (Holy Places, religious buildings and sites) and two (religious and minority rights) shall be under the guarantee of the United Nations, and no modification shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Any member of the United Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the General Assembly any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these stipulations, and the General Assembly may thereupon make such recommendations as it may deem proper in the circumstances. Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of this declaration shall be referred, at the request of either party to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement."

Resolution 181 further provided in Part One C that its provisions with respect to the Holy Places and religious and minority rights shall be embodied in a declaration to be made to the UN by the provisional government of the Arab and Jewish States. The provisional government of Israel assumed its obligations in this regard in the cablegramme of Moshe Shertok, its foreign secretary, dated May 15, 1948, and also during the General Assembly debate which preceded its admission to the UN.

Moreover, upon admitting Israel to UN membership, the General Assembly took note in its Resolution of May 11, 1949, of Israel's obligation to implement its Resolution 181 and 194, (the former relating to partition and internalisation of Jerusalem and the latter concerning repatriation of refugees).

It is essential to realize that the *Question of Jerusalem* cannot be resolved by negotiation with Israel. Armed to the teeth with the most modern of arms supplied by the US, armed also with a dogged determination to hold on to Jerusalem, even though in doing so it is exploiting religion for political and nationalistic reasons, assisted financially and politically by a superpower, Israel will not evacuate Jerusalem or rescind any of its acts without coercion. John Davis, former commissioner-general of UNRWA (UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees) has observed: "In the end one must even be prepared to use corrective measures on Israel against her will."

The US government, however, is not prepared to exercise any pressure on Israel even to correct its misdeeds. President Carter emphasized at a news conference on August 23, 1977, that although the territory Israel occupied in 1967 was not part of Israel, he had no intention to exert pressure on it by cutting off economic and military aid in order to secure its withdrawal from such territory. Better still, the US government has stated more than once that it would veto any resolution at the Security Council which provided for the imposition of sanctions upon Israel.

The US government's subservience to Israel has been the subject of criticism and it is interesting to note that such criticism has come also from the late Nahum Goldmann, founder president of the World Jewish Congress and former president of the World Zionist Organization. After blaming Israel for its "intransigence" and for the fact that "Israel's rigid policy has not changed radically from Ben Gurion to Begin," he said: "I have maintained for years that America, by its reluctance to influence Israel and through having given in to too many Israeli demands — for instance, with regard to the Jarring mission, the Rogers Plan, etc. — not only failed to help Israel but harmed it in the long run."

In these circumstances, with Israel determined not to withdraw or rescind its actions in Jerusalem despite scores of UN resolutions, and the US government unwilling to withhold its aid and assistance to Israel because of the sensitiveness of American politicians to electoral considerations and to the Zionist Jewish lobby, should we conclude that the *Question of Jerusalem* should be left without redress?

It is inadmissible that the Israelis who represent a fraction of one percent of the hundreds of millions of believers to whom Jerusalem is holy and sacred just as much as to the Jews themselves should be allowed to flout the will of the international community and to court disaster.

Despite the extreme difficulty of the situation, consideration might be given to the taking of two initiatives.

The first would aim at the taking by the UN of the required action to honour its guarantee for the protection of Holy Places and religious and minority rights. Honouring its guarantee does not mean the simple addition of one more UN resolution to the long list of resolutions which have condemned Israel's actions in Jerusalem. It can only mean the recourse to effective measures under the Charter in order to put an end to Israel's violation of the status of the Holy City and of the rights of its original inhabitants.

The second initiative would aim at enlightening world public opinion, in particular internal opinion in the USA, about the problem of Jerusalem and alerting it to its gravity and its dangers. The force of public opinion should not be underestimated in democratic countries, especially in the USA. Unlike politicians, American public opinion is not influenced by the Zionist lobby or by electoral considerations and its has shown that it can remedy grave situations: thus, it succeeded in forcing the US government to put an end to the war in Vietnam and it swept an American president out of office at the time of Watergate. Is it unreasonable to assume that American public opinion could, if it wished, apply sufficient pressure on the US government to withhold economic and military aid from Israel to force it to comply with UN resolutions? And on several occasions the withholding of such aid or even the threat of it, as in the case of the Suez, has resulted in Israeli compliance.

In present circumstances these two initiatives appear to be the only practicable means to avert a world catastrophe and to restore peace to the Holy City and justice to its original inhabitants.

"I have maintained for years that America, by its reluctance to influence Israel and through having given in to too many Israeli demands ... not only failed to help Israel but harmed it in the long run."

— Nahum Goldmann
founding president, World Jewish Congress
former president, World Zionist Organisation

"On several occasions the withholding of (US) aid or even the threat of it, as in the case of the Suez, has resulted in Israeli compliance."

Chronology of Jerusalem

		Years of Occupation
Canaanites	From around 1800 BC or earlier until the capture of the city by David in about 1000 BC	800
Israelites (with intermittent occupations of the city by the Egyptians, the Philistines, the Syrians and the Assyrians	From 1000 BC to capture of the city by the Babylonians in 587 BC (destruction of Jerusalem and the Kingdom of Judah)	413
Babylonians	From 587 to 538 BC	50
Persians	From capture of the city by Cyrus to Greek conquest: 538 to 332 BC	206
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Waves of Jewish Terrorism

In this second of a three-part series on Jewish terrorism, Israeli journalist Shuki Ben Ami of *Al Hamishmar* catalogues the most recent brand of terror — Israeli settler crime — and relates it to earlier manifestations of "violence by patriots."

Since 1980, approximately 20 people have lost their lives as a result of Jewish terrorist attacks carried out in Jerusalem and the occupied territories; a four-year-old girl, three adolescent girls, and a woman were among the victims. Over 150 people have been wounded, among them a nine-year-old girl, a 12-year-old boy, a nun and scores of other men and women. This balance sheet covers 150 terrorist acts committed by Jews over the past four years, the majority of which were carried out by settlers and members of Gush Emunim.

Thus far, we have dealt with the most prominent Jewish terrorist organisations operating in the country in the recent past. Most of them have been captured and brought to trial. However, the police and security service still have tens of files dealing with attacks on the Arab populace that have not been solved. These files are gathering dust. The perpetrators have not been arrested and there is little chance of their being arrested in the foreseeable future.

The act of 'taking the law into their own hands' involved them, among other things, in kidnappings. On March 23, 1982, settlers abducted an Arab youth from the village of Sinjil. In another incident, Mr. Ja'abri of Hebron reported his son missing on February 28, 1984; he was later found in the Kiryat Arba guardhouse. The settlers claimed the boy "had thrown stones at them." A few months later, a group of Kiryat Arba settlers burst into the Tareq Ibn Ziad School in Hebron and began firing their guns in an indiscriminate manner. When they were met with a shower of rocks, they beat a retreat, but not before taking the principal of the school with them; he was later set free after police intervened. A month later, settlers burst into a school in the Balata refugee camp, ostensibly to break up a demonstration. They illegally abducted a number of students and turned them over to the military government.

We must reserve judgment on two other cases, both of which ended in the death of those abducted, on account of the hazy circumstances surrounding their deaths. The first incident occurred on February 5, 1984. The body of 17-year-old Wajid Fayad Rashid was found in an open field a week after he had disappeared from his home in Jenin. The second incident took place on April 16, 1984 when a Bir Zeit lecturer was kidnapped from his home in Ramallah. Two weeks later his body was found in an open field. Once again, the circumstances surrounding their deaths are not clear. Investigators did not rule out the possibility that Jews were involved in both cases, but neither of them has yet been solved.

4-Year March

Over the past four years, scores of bombs have been discovered in central squares, mosques, schools, churches and other places. Hundreds of cars have been damaged, buildings set on fire and many people had their homes shelled. Settlers have also rioted a number of times. On March 25, 1980, settlers rioted in the streets of Halhoul; some of the most prominent figures of Kiryat Arba were involved. Two of the rioters were arrested but later relesed without charges. A month later, settlers ran amok in al-Bireh. The settlers' 'crystal-nacht' took place in Ramallah about a month after the events in al-Bireh.

Members of the Jewish underground were charged with some of these incidents after their arrest. The Dra'i family's TNT terror gang were held responsible for some of the other incidents, especially those in and around Jerusalem. Other groups, such as *Egrof Magen* (Protective Fist) and *Bnei Zion* (the Sons of Zion) took responsibility for some of the attacks. However, after the Jewish underground had been captured, it became apparent that the anonymous callers who had identified themselves as speaking on behalf of *Bnei Zion* actually had nothing to do with the attacks for which they had claimed responsibility. Anonymous callers had claimed that *Bnei Zion* was responsible for the attacks on West Bank mayors; however, it later transpired that the bomb attacks on the mayors were the work of the Jewish underground.

In other cases, anonymous callers, speaking on behalf of the TNT gang, claimed responsibility for a number of attacks. But once again, it later came out that there was no connection between the callers and the perpetrators of the attacks.

By the beginning of 1980, jurists had begun to sound the alarm over the situation in the occupied territories. At a meeting at Professor Menachem Yari's home in Jerusalem, detailed accounts of beatings, terror attacks and cases of people taking the law into their own hands were related to those assembled. A short time afterwards, a similar meeting took place in the home of Professor Micha'l Bruno. Hair-raising stories of children beaten to the point of having their bones dislocated and of dogs being set upon Arabs were related to the gathering in Bruno's home.

Karp Begins

On July 22, 1980, 14 jurists from Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University sent a letter to the government's legal advisor, Yitzhak Zamir, demanding that a series of incidents (listed in their letter) be investigated. It took a year before the Karp Commission was set up to investigate their complaints. Yehudit Karp, the deputy government legal advisor, was appointed chairperson of the commission. The report bearing her name uncovered some of the terrorist attacks committed by West Bank settlers and the police ineffectuality in the occupied territories. The Likud government preferred to stick its head in the sand rather than deal with the commission's findings. At a government meeting, MK Yosef Burg went so far as to say that the report reflected Karp's political opinions more than it did the situation on the West Bank. (The Karp Report is the only official document that deals with this painful issue.)

Throughout this period, right-wing Knesset members persisted in claiming that all stories about a right-wing underground and "hostile acts on the part of the settlers" were left-wing fabrications. In an article by ex-MK Zvi Shiloah (Tehiya) published on April 18, 1984, one can read "that it is of little importance whether TNT really existed or not. For MK's Sarid, Tzaban and their supporters, it served as a kind of oxygen." Shiloah went on to state that "an organised underground operating in accordance with right-wing ideology would be a godsend for our militant leftists; due to the fact that they lack reasonable answers to the existential questions facing Israel and the Zionist enterprise, they have no choice but to use demonology in dealing with their opponents."

Only Provocateurs?

Shiloah further claimed that the allegations of the leftists were delirious fantasies and ended his article with the following words: "After every terrorist attack on the Arabs — and after the murder of the late Emil Greensweig as well — we asked ourselves: Who does this serve? Obviously not the settlers, who are interested in 'industrial peace' between the Jewish and Arab populations, whether in Hebron or elsewhere. It occurred to us that these acts could be the work of provocateurs. That ideological organisations struggling to win public support could do such things is unthinkable. On the other hand, the actions of the so-called TNT gang are oil for the propaganda machine of the leftists, which churns out the disgusting claims they use in their 'debate' with their ideological opponents." So ends the manly speech of Zvi Shiloah. Two weeks later, the Jewish underground had been apprehended; many of its members were settlement activists and well-known members of Gush Emunim.

It's worth pointing out that Jewish terrorism is not a recent phenomenon. During the first years of the state of Israel's existence, the extreme right gave birth to *Mamlechet Y'israel* (the Kingdom of Israel), which was led by Dr Israel Eldad, the poet Uri Zvi Greenberg and MK Geula Cohen. They did not simply make do with idle fantasizing; they carried out violent attacks against ex-Lehi (pre-state underground) members who refused to adopt their ideology.

The first underground to be established in Israel was *Brit Ha'kana'im* (the Alliance of Zealots) also known as the *Jelmi* underground. It dates back to 1950 and included among its ranks none other than Shlomo Lorenz (recently the chairperson of the Knesset Finance Committee) and Rabbi Mordechai Eliyahu (the chief Sephardi rabbi in Israel).

The activities of the underground were similar to those of *Keshet* (Tora Observance Group); *Keshet*'s activites reached their height in 1982 and included the desecration of the graves of Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl and Professor Sukenik and the arson of the Government Archeological Office for the Western Wall Excavation.

Orthodox Extremists

The activities of *Brit Ha'kana'im* centered on attacking those who did not observe Jewish religious law, e.g. bookstores that distributed Christian texts, communist bookstores in Jerusalem, movie theatres, etc. When they were finally caught, the members of the group were discovered to be in the possession of a large quantity of arms and explosives. Shlomo Lorenz and Rabbi Mordechai Eliyahu were arrested and tortured in the Jelmi Prison. Four members of the underground were later sentenced to prison terms.

A year later another extreme orthodox underground was caught in Jerusalem. The members of the group had planned to attack government offices, non-kosher butchers, the Communist Party's headquarters and the editorial office of the *Ha'Olam Hazeh* magazine.

continued on page 15

The *Ali al-Bika'* Mosque in Hebron, where a booby-trapped hand grenade went off last year, wounding two worshippers: *The "third wave" of terror.*

Palestine and Culture

Jalazon, Ramallah area, population 4666

Arroub, Hebron area, population 4677

Our Camp...

Am'ari, al-Bireh area, population 4629

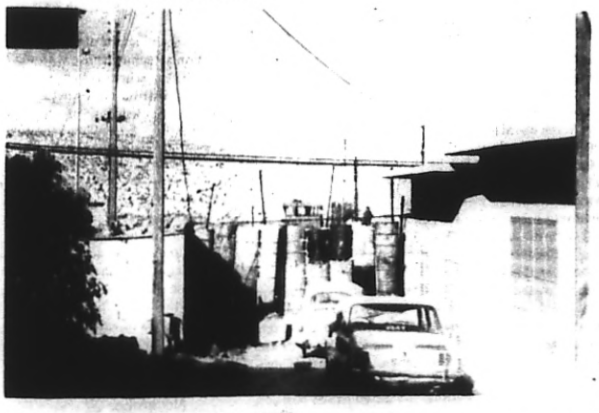
Some 86,000 Palestinian refugees live in inadequate shelter amidst appalling conditions in the 20 West Bank refugee camps. The camps are supervised by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) which provides basic needs and education for camp residents.

So much a part of the Palestinian cultural scene, these camps represent the Palestinian people's struggle for a decent life and the right to determine their own future freely. It is because of their representative nature that the camps are often the scene of anti-occupation demonstrations and stone throwing as well as the targets of extremist Israeli settlers who wish to erase the camps and their residents from the face of this historically Palestinian land.

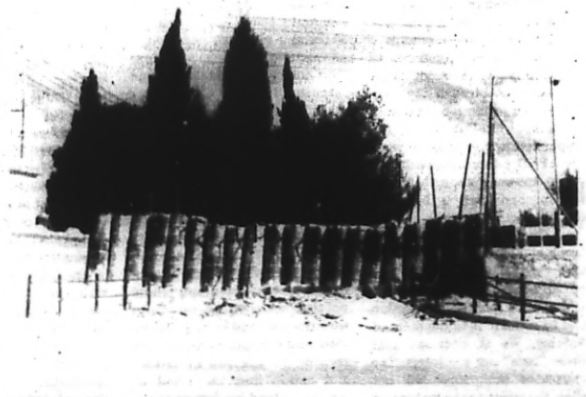
Camp residents remain strong in the face of continued military and settler harassment. The military has even sealed all but one of the entrances to five of the camps, leaving residents no choice but to make long treks through the camps to reach the one remaining door. These five and their sealed entrances, resembling the Warsaw ghetto, are pictured here in photographs recently taken by Al Fajr staffer **Baher Ashhab.** *Let them serve as a reminder to all that it will take more than cement-filled barrels and barbed wire to imprison the spirit and will of the Palestinian people.*

Jalazon, Ramallah area, population 4666

Our Prison

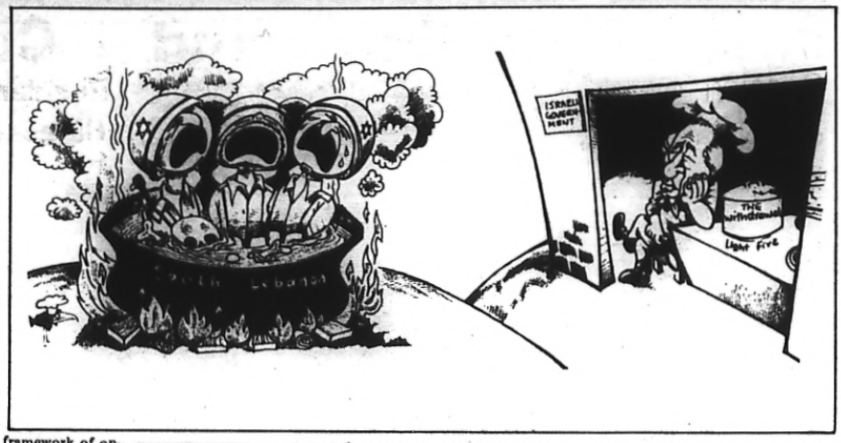


Dheisheh, Bethlehem area, population 6180



Kalandia, Ramallah area, population 4602

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Palestinian papers published in the occupied territories continued their coverage this week of the 17th session of the Palestine National Council meeting in Amman.

Al Quds and Al Fajr used full banner red headlines to announce the achievement of a PNC quorum. Al Sha'ab daily gave the most comprehensive coverage of the sesson, with texts of many important speeches published in full.

Al Mithaq used an all-black masthead on Thursday and called November 22 a "black day" in the history of the Palestinian people because of the convening of the PNC.

New Stage

Today, the Palestine National Council (PNC) opens its 17th session with a quorum and with deep awareness of the importance of this session and its determining effect on the whole coming stage.

This important historic day represents a crowning political battle fought by the PLO under the leadership of Yasir Arafat to confirm Palestinian legitimacy and emphasise the ability to take independent decisions in the face of all odds.

The Jordan TV interview with Abu Jihad two days ago clarifies many things that determined the natural course taken to reach this decisive day in the history of the cause.

Abu Jihad emphasised Fatah's appreciation of the conditions that prevented some from participating in PNC deliberations. It was natural that Fatah's understanding should be made clear and firm to those "helpless," living under the control of Assad's regime. He asserted in the interview that the doors of the PNC will remain open for all and that dialogue will continue after this session. National unity will be taken care of. The PLO as a sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people will be safeguarded whatever the circumstances and differences of opinions. Fatah on its own is not the PLO. It is only part of it. Other factions have full right to play their roles within the PLO. If Palestinian opposition happens to be under the Syrian and Libyan regimes, this doesn't mean that the opposition, in general, will lose its legitimate right in any Palestinian institution, at the top of which is the PNC.

The present confusion surrounding the opposition will surely disappear. Abu Jihad gave an example when he referred to the clarification made by Karim Khalaf. That clarification supported the legitimate leadership represented by Abu Ammar and emphasised the need to convene the PNC. The "opposition" papers misunderstood that clarification and used it for their own interest.

The tossing of a petrol bomb at Karim Khalaf's car yesterday indicates that the "bats of darkness" are trying to make use of this political confusion and to escalate it to the point of fighting. We at once say that these "bats" are the losers. The masses of the people will not allow the escalation to go beyond the legitimate framework of opposition. We also absolve the opposition from any disgraceful act or crime; they are far above that. We don't think that Karim Khalaf, who sacrificed a lot, will be the target of one party or the other. He is targeted by the enemies.

AL FAJR
November 22

March Won't Stop

Attempts to hinder the work of the Palestinian institutions and abort the present session of the council did not succeed. The convening of the council in Amman emphasises that the national Palestinian decision is stronger than all opponents and that the Palestinian leadership, under Arafat, is ready for the challenge and is capable of carrying it through until success is achieved so that the Palestinian will might remain free. This attitude is a major political victory but it is not the only thing we seek.

The leader Yasir Arafat left the door open for national dialogue. And the Democratic and Popular Front asserted their rejection of establishing an alternative PLO. This stand on their part is a step towards meeting despite all that had happened and is happenning. But what is required during this crucial stage of Palestinian history is not mere slogans and declaration of stands. Implementation of those stands and slogans is what is required. The Aden-Algiers agreement is a wonderful thing. But it remained so far ink on paper because the Democratic Alliance factions were unable to abide by it and carry it out.

Those who are keen on PLO unity and even those who pretend to be keen on it are required to work for this unity. It is not enough to content oneself with leveling false charges against Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian leadership.

We still have some confidence that some of the Palestinians who boycotted and whose political history bears witness to their sincerity and loyalty despite their mistakes and confusion will respond to the call of history and reason and the flood of martyrs' blood by freeing themselves from the restrictions they imposed on themselves or which are imposed upon them by others.

The possibilities of meeting are still there and will remain if good will and unity of the goal are available. But if the other parties persist in their stands, the procession will not stop and the march will not die away. This is the true implication of convening the PNC in Amman amid such circumstances.

AL FAJR
November 24

Towards Comprehensive Initiatives

Abu Jihad, the deputy commander of Palestinian forces, denied the existence of any new initiative to settle the Palestinian problem. At the same time, Abu Iyad, Fatah central committee member, called for Palestinian-Arab solidarity and concord to come up with an initiative that is in keeping with Fez summit resolutions and is not based, of course, on UN resolution 242.

These statements by two senior Palestinian officials clarify the political perspective through which the 17th session deliberations are being conducted. They also block the way in front of attempts at casting doubt.

The political report submitted by the PLO Executive Committee detailed and analysed all the political issues. It shares with the aforementioned statements a comprehensive political vision for the coming stage.

The report affirmed the firm adherence to the inalienable Palestinian rights and the rejection of both the Reagan plan and Camp David. After explaining the causes of differences with Syria, the report welcomed the restoration of normal relations with it on the basis of recognition that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and on the basis of the principle of non-interference.

Our people followed with awareness the minute details of the report so as to benefit from it in countering the attempts at casting doubt and distortion.

In fact, these campaigns are very limited because they are not based on a clear position and do not offer a national plan. They only reiterate slogans of slander emanating from one Arab capital.

We consider the political report submitted by Farouq Kaddoumi, head of the Political Department, as a general and comprehensive programme through which we can formulate a Palestinian initiative called for by Abu Iyad. As a result we can overcome the obstacles imposed by the last stage.

Perhaps the next session will clarify our national Palestinian potential so that our Palestinian programme will form the entrance for our call to convene an international conference to be attended by all parties.

AL FAJR
November 26

The Israeli Position

The Palestinian opposition constantly fails to mention the Israeli position while analyzing and explaining the events of the current stage. Indeed it is deliberate ignorance on their part because the stated Israeli position is similar to their slogans and statements against the legitimate Palestinian leadership. This is why the Palestinian 'opposition' should not wish its announced position to correspond with Israel at present.

But our difficult conditions make it necessary to see things from this angle. For how could we explain an Israeli political analysis which says "It is better for Israel if extremists dominate the PLO?" and that "Israel would be the only winner by the PLO split becaue the PLO will lose its effectiveness and international standing."

The only explanation is that Israel indirectly supports all the dissidents and all those who go against the national will and against the legitimate leadership represented by the leader Abu Ammar. Though the Palestinian 'opposition' will refute such explanation, assuring that it is keen on PLO unity according to its own conditions and slogans, this refutation in itself is in the interest of Israel.

The PNC affirmed that its doors are open to anyone who responds to the national will by participating in the PNC session and to achieve the active participation in making the decision of the PLO unity so that Israel would not benefit from the Palestinian split.

By reminding the 'opposition' of the Israeli position we would like to show the path to everyone who might be misled by his narrow self-interest and tend to forget the most important element in understanding the situation and later facing it.

The Palestinian 'opposition' represented now by the Democratic Alliance factions would be fully convinced upon reading the Israeli position with depth that it is of extreme importance to participate in the PNC.

AL FAJR
November 27

17th Session of PNC

continued from page 1

then withdrawn.

Arafat's Address

Arafat opened the PNC November 22 with a speech dealing with current political issues, including Jordanian-Palestinian relations. He rejected both the Camp David accords and Reagan's Peace initiative and confirmed the PLO's adherence to the goals of self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Arafat pledged that the dialogue meant to restore PLO unity between the central committee of Fatah and other factions (the Democratic Alliance) will continue. "The revolution will not give up on any of its members," Arafat said.

In his speech, the longest delivered in the opening meeting, Arafat spoke on political developments since the departure of PLO fighters from Beirut in 1982, including relations between the PLO and other Arab countries. Arafat said there is a current conspiracy against the Palestinian revolution which aims at destroying the PLO and its military and political infrastructure. Arafat spoke about the PLO dissidents and their role in the Beqa'a and Tripoli fighting. He spoke on the current situation in Lebanon and the role of Palestinians in fighting the Israeli army occupation of the south. Arafat warned that there is a 'Camp Murphy' conspiracy in Lebanon, aiming at dividing the country into mini states.

Concerning his controversial visit to Cairo after leaving Tripoli, Arafat admitted that he had gone without first consulting his comrades in the Fatah central committee. He explained that the purpose of his visit was to thank Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak for his support during the siege in Tripoli. Arafat said this issue was discussed in various PLO institutions and that the PNC would be the final arbitrator in this case.

King Hussein's Address

Flanked by the Jordanian and Palestinian flags, King Hussein addressed members of the PNC and stated that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He insisted that Jordan will never speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. The Jordanian monarch also suggested to the delegates a joint political initiative based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 for joint Jordanian-Palestinian action and calling for an international conference.

Hussein, realising the controversial nature of any joint Jordan-Palestine action, said it was up to the Palestinian people to accept this suggestion or to work alone for establishment of their own state, in either case with the support of Jordan. According to King Hussein's plan, the exact nature of future relations between the Palestinians and Jordanians would be discussed after liberating the land. He said that the guideline for any negotiations is the principle of exchanging territories for peace. The king also stressed that Jordan will never sign a unilateral agreement with Israel.

242

The most controversial point of the PNC session was King Hussein's proposal of a joint Palstinian-Jordanian initiative based on UN Resolution 242. PNC delegates reiterated the Palestinian people's rejection of UN Resolution 242 because of its reference to the Palestinian people as "refugees" and its failure to demand an independent Palestinian state.

The PNC delegates made a unanimous decision regarding King's plan for joint action. After a long discussion PNC delegates agreed to turn Hussein's proposal over to the executive committee, which would work out the details with the Jordanian government. Political analysts said the referral by the PNC without recommendation was aimed at not embarrassing the Jordanian government, at the same time leaving all possibilities open. King Hussein's proposal was strongly rejected by some Palestinian leaders and groups, including the Democratic Alliance and the National Alliance.

In the occupied territories a memorandum signed by some Palestinian figures and national institutions was distributed to PNC members. The memorandum rejected the Jordanian monarch's call and called for the rejection of any coordination either with those who signed the Camp David accords or those who recently renewed diplomatic relations with the 'Camp David' regime. Jordan exchanged ambassadors with Egypt just prior to the convening of the PNC.

Political Report

Farouq Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's political department, delivered the report of the political committee November 25 on political issues and events since the PNC's last session. He spoke about Israeli aims in Lebanon, the failure of US forces there and on events in the Beqa'a and Tripoli. He also addressed the issue of the dispute between the PLO and Syria, asserting that it is a "political crisis" between the two parties.

Kaddoumi discussed the Aden-Algiers agreement signed by the Democratic Alliance factions and Fatah. He affirmed that Fatah's central committee is ready to negotiate with the Syrian leadership to end the dispute and to reach a comprehensive understanding.

Kaddoumi rejected the Reagan Plan, calling it a "conspiracy" which aims at the liquidation of the Palestinian cause. "National unity is our foremost concern due to the obstacles that are put by some Arab regimes," he said. "It is part of our future duty to maintain the national unity and to assist the steadfastness of our people through a detailed programme which will take advantage of past experience."

Keynote Speeches

Salah Khalaf gave a candid address, pointing out the various contradictions within the Arab regimes and criticising their changing stands towards one another. "Between 1971 and 1979 Syria considered Jordan a progressive state working for unity, and now Syria considers Jordan a traitor and supporter of Camp David, despite the fact that in both countries the heads of state and policies have remained basically unchanged," he said. Khalaf also pointed to Libya, which continuously attacked King Hassan of Morocco and then suddenly announced Libyan-Moroccan cooperation.

On the Palestinian scene Abu Iyad called for a comprehensive evaluation of all PLO institutions and personalities, "from heads of PLO offices to the smallest employee." Khalaf was applauded when he suggested that the finances of all PLO personalities be scrutinised under a new regulation entitled "Where Did You Get That."

Shafiq al-Hout, official representative of the PLO in Beirut, called on PLO leaders to be consistent and realistic in their evaluations and aspirations. "What is said from the rostrum is different from what is said in closed sessions," he noted. Hout said that calls for armed struggle are made despite the fact that everyone knows Palestinian fighters are not permitted by Arab countries to wage attacks from their territory. He mentioned in particular Jordan, Syria and Egypt. Hout also warned against Palestinian chauvinism, the Arab axes and called for a comprehensive Palestinian initiative which Arab and world leaders would be convinced to accept.

New Members

Forty-nine names were added to the membership list of the PNC, raising the total to 432 delegates. The new members are divided as follows:

— Mohammed Milhem and Fahd Qawasmi, deported mayors of Halhoul and Hebron, are two named members out of the 180 representing the occupied territories;

— 22 members representing mass organisations;

— 13 members representing Palestinians in North and South America. They are: Rita Hazboun, Francis Shomali, Hassan al-Amli, Hassan al-Saad, Antoine Kahwaji, Ahmad Sabbagh, Tawfiq Kanawati, Mohammed Salem, Ali Mattar, Farid Suwan, Samir Totah, Azzat 'Amer and Jawad George.

— 12 members from Palestinian military forces.

Financial Report

On the third day of the PNC sessions November 25 the financial report was presented by Hanna Nasser, head of the Palestinian National Fund and executive committee member. Nasser said the Palestinian fund had a JD12 million deficit. He said the fund could not cover the scheduled budget.

Nasser pointed to obstacles facing the PLO in terms of collecting liberation tax from Palestinians working abroad. Nasser, the deported president of Bir Zeit University, said that the income for the past year from liberation tax was only JD7 million. (The five percent tax is automatically deducted from the salaries of Palestinians working in the Arab world.)

Explosions

The PNC session was held under strict security regulations. Streets around the Palace of Culture, where the meetings were held, and the hotels where delegates stayed were cordoned off. A bomb exploded in front of the PLO office in Amman, causing minor damage. Another bomb was discoverd at the American Centre for Oriental Research in Amman and dismantled moments before it was set to explode.

In response to complaints by al-Hout that delegates had to raise their arms to be searched upon entering the PNC session, Arafat said the measures were necessary because he had learned of a plan by an Arab ruler to bomb the site. Arafat said the unnamed ruler had planned to bomb the Palace of Culture using a Sukhoi bomber loaded with explosives and sitting in the eastern Beqa'a.

Camp Residents Harassed

continued from page 3

officer answered: 'Obviously it is not possible to open his mouth and examine his teeth. Anyway, this is not your problem.'

"Then they gave us general instructions: 'In all demonstrations, an incitor will be in the front. He will be wearing a *kaffiya* on his head and shouting slogans. You must shoot him.'"

The soldier said that he was sent to defend Levinger and officers explained to him that Levinger is under constant government protection. He has permission to go wherever he wants and soldiers must accompany him.

In responding to the question Rabin gave no definitive reply to Toubi's charges of government support to settlers. Rabin denounced the leaflet but Knesset members voted against transmitting Toubi's question to a Knesset committee and it was then dropped from the agenda.

After an Israeli bus travelling near Aroub was stoned, the military governor in Hebron — accompanied by military vehicles and soldiers — broke into the camp November 24. Israeli soldiers raided a number of houses in the camp and ordered all men aged 14 to 50 to gather in the camp square. The military governor asked camp residents to select people to guard passing Israeli vehicles at night.

According to Jerusalem Lawyer Ali Ghuzlan, Hassan Mahmoud Zaqout, the deputy director of the camp, and an Aroub resident, Mohammed Abdel Rahman Mahfouz, told the governor that it was the responsibility of Israeli authorities to protect and guard their citizens, not the duty of camp inhabitants.

The military governor responded by ordering his soldiers to arrest the two. He warned Aroub's inhabitants that he would not stop settlers if they attacked Aroub. He also threatened that he would order residents to remain standing in the camp square until long into the night.

Soldiers confiscated the ID cards of 40 residents and ordered the residents to appear at Hebron military headquarters the next day.

On November 18, the Hebron military governor's deputy, "Sami," accompanied by soldiers, broke in to Aroub at midnight and forced residents to gather in the square for 90 minutes. During this time the refugees were harassed and threatened with similar harassment if they continued throwing stones at passing Israeli vehicles.

Ghuzlan told *Al Fajr* that the only explanation for the military's action is that the Israelis are avoiding their duty by trying to recruit guards from among unarmed local residents. Ghuzlan said he expects settlers will commit a massacre in a Palestinian camp. He told *Al Fajr* that what is happening in Aroub and Dheisheh is an indication that the authorities have information about a possible plan to massacre Palestinians.

The Committee to Defend the Palestinian Camps, formed by a group of local Palestinians including camp residents, condemned recent harassment against Dheisheh and Aroub camps. One committee member told *Al Fajr* that these actions were taken by settlers with endorsement from the Israeli government to vacate West Bank camps forcefully. He said Israeli authorities have also claimed on some occasions that the evacuation of West Bank camp residents is for 'humanitarian purposes.'

A resettlement plan for the refugees in the West Bank proposed by former Israeli Minister-Without-portfolio, Mordechai Ben Porat, has been totally rejected by residents of West Bank refugee camps.

Rafah Mayor

continued from page 2

living conditions in Rafah. The Israel-Egypt peace treaty left Rafah a divided city in spring 1982. "He has complained to military authorities on behalf of residents many times," she said. Zo'rub's brother, Omar, called for all concerned local and international committees to investigate the matter of his brother's arrest.

Zo'rub is the first well-known personality in the occupied territories to be arrested on criminal charges.

WEEKLY REVIEW

November 21, 1984

BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY CLOSED

BETHLEHEM — The Bethlehem University administration closed the university until Monday after opposing camps of Palestinian students at the university engaged in shouting matches during a rally on the PNC meeting in Amman.

ISRAELI BUS ATTACKED

JERUSALEM — A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli Egged bus while it was passing near Kalandia refugee camp on the main Jerusalem-Ramallah road. Israel radio said no one was injured in the incident.

FEMALE STUDENT JAILED

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Georgette Salim Farah Rishmawi of Beit Sahour to two and a half years in prison and two and a half years suspended on security charges. She was a student at Bethlehem University.

November 22, 1984

WOMEN TEARGASSED

RAMALLAH — Israeli troops used tear gas to break up a demonstration of women. Eyewitnesses said the women, dressed in black, were protesting the convening of the PNC in Amman and the murder of the Bir Zeit Student shot by the military the day before.

NABLUS TEENAGERS JAILED

NABLUS — Four youths from Nablus between 16 and 17 years of age were sentenced to three months in prison and fined IS50,000 by the military court in Nablus.

The four are: Naser Jamil Sa'id al-Aklik, Jamal Wadi Alhooh, and Ayman Ahmed Qanaze'.

YOUTH JAILED FOR STONES

HEBRON — Jamal Abdullah al-Afifi from Aroub refugee camp near Hebron was sentenced by military court in Nablus to seven months' imprisonment, 10 months suspended and a IS75,000 fine.

The court also sentenced Maher Yousef Khalil Ahmed Ja'arah from Aroub to six months in prison, 10 months suspended and a IS50,000 fine.

The two were charged with stone throwing and painting pro-PLO slogans on walls.

GAZANS JAILED FOR ISLAMIC MEMBERSHIP

GAZA — Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Manar Saleh Farawneh, 18, to one year in prison on charges of membeship in an illegal Islamic group, recruiting Imad Hamdi al-Ghalayini and Usama Yasin Salim to the group and distributing pamphlets.

The court sentenced al-Ghalayini and Salim to six months' imprisonment and a IS30,000 fine each.

TULKARM MONEYCHANGERS HIT

TULKARM — Israeli police raided several moneychanger shops in Tulkarm and warned the moneychangers not to trade in any foreign currency except the Jordanian dinar.

5 MONTHS FOR GRAFFITI

NABLUS — Nablus military court sentenced Mohammed Tawfik Abdel Halim to five months in prison, seven months suspended and a IS75,000 fine. They also sentenced Ismail Ahmed Ismail to a IS50,000 fine.

Both were charged with writing pro-PLO slogans on walls.

November 23, 1984

HARSH SENTENCE FOR GAZA BROTHERS

GAZA — Kamal Abu Hashish, a resident of Gaza, was sentenced to 20 years in prison by the military court on charges of hurling hand grenades at Israeli army patrols in Jabalya refugee camp and wounding three soldiers.

His brother, Kayed, was sentenced to seven years in prison on charges of possessing hand grenades and explosives.

JERUSALEMITES SENTENCED

JERUSALEM — The military court in Lydda sentenced Tawfik al-Sarkhi of Jerusalem to 15 months in prison and 15 months suspended on charges of membership in an illegal organization.

November 24, 1984

AL-ANBA' OFFICE BOMBED

TULKARM — A petrol bomb was thrown at the Tulkarm office of the Israeli government-run newspaper *Al Anba'*. No injuries were reported, but the bomb started a fire, causing damages to the office.

November 25, 1984

ELECTED MAYOR TO STAND TRIAL FOR VIOLATING TOWN ARREST

The Israeli military authorities have decided to bring elected Mayor of Qalqilya Amin Nasser to trial before a military court on charges of violating a town arrest order.

Israel Radio said the authorities suspect that Nasser travelled to Nablus without prior permission.

PETROL BOMB

KALANDIA — A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli army patrol at Kalandia refugee camp, Israel Radio said. There were no injuries or damage reported.

CURFEW ON AROUB

BETHLEHEM — Israeli troops imposed a curfew on Aroub refugee camp on the main Hebron-Bethlehem road after a petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli Egged bus near the camp. Soldiers rounded up dozens of men from the camp after the incident.

November 26, 1984

CAMP ARREST RENEWED ON FARRAJ

DHEISHEH — Israeli military authorities renewed for six months an order barring Palestinian journalist Hamdi Farraj from leaving the Dheisheh refugee camp where he lives.

Farraj, 28, has been confined to the camp on the outskirts of Bethlehem for two-and-a-half years for undefined "security reasons."

The order, signed by West Bank Military Governor Ammon Shahak, bars Farraj from leaving the camp during the day and restricts him to his home by night.

Farraj must travel to Bethlehem once a week to report to police.

BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY TO REMAIN CLOSED

BETHLEHEM — Bethlehem University administration has decided to keep the university closed until December 3. The university was voluntarily closed on November 21 to avoid any clashes between students supporting and opposing the PNC in Amman.

ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY IN GAZA UNDER SIEGE

GAZA — The Israeli army besieged the Islamic University in Gaza. The army asked the students to remove the posters, slogans, banners and pictures of Yasir Arafat from university walls.

Students were allowed to leave the campus at 6:00 pm.

GAZA YOUTH SENTENCED TO PRISON

GAZA STRIP — The military court in Gaza sentenced Abdel-Hakim Suleiman Wadi to eight years and four months in prison, and sentenced Khaled Mousa Abu-Hilal to seven years and one month in prison. The two 16 year-old residents of Khan Yunis were charged with membership in an illegal organization and possession of eleven bombs.

The court also sentenced the following: Mohammed Radwan, 38, from Khan Yunis to 10 months in prison; Abdel Gani, 22, from Jabalya to nine months in prison; and Tawfiq Abdel Karim Rajab, 50, of Beit Lahya to nine months.

They were all charged with membership in an illegal organization and were given a one year suspended sentence for three years.

The military court also fined Omar Dabbagh, 14, IS250,000 for possessing Arafat's photo with the Pope.

November 27, 1984

TWO HOUSES DEMOLISHED

HEBRON — Israeli authorities demolished a house owned by Adnan Mohammed Rajab Abu Sneineh. The house was located at Beit Issa near the Yatta-Hebron road. Authorities also demolished a house in Sa'ir. The house is owned by Ahmed Mohammed Hassan al-Lahalyah.

Both were destroyed on the pretext of being unlicensed.

IMPRISONMENT AND FINE FOR 4 YOUTHS

NABLUS — The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced the following to eight months in prison and 10 months suspended: Ayman Mohammed al-Hassan; Hassan al-Disi; Abdullah Afif Zakarneh; and Tareq Hab al-Rih.

Sa'ir village, near Hebron — The family of Mohammed Hassan al-Lahalieh sit by the remains of their house, demolished November 28, 1984 for being "unlicensed"/AO photo

The youths were also fined IS50,000 on charges of participating in a demonstration.

TWO YOUTHS SENTENCED FOR MEMBERSHIP

The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Nasri Jiryis Qumsiyeh, from Beit Sahour, to six months in prison and two years suspended for membership in an illegal organization. Qumsiyeh is a student at Milano University in Italy. He was arrested on September 3.

The Israeli military court in Jenin sentenced Shaher Mohammed Atiq from Burqin to two-and-a-half years in prison and two-and-a-half years suspended for membership in an illegal organization. Atiq is studying in the Soviet Union and was arrested on June 3.

JAIL TERMS FOR 4 YOUTHS

The Israeli military court sentenced Ramadan Ibrahim U-

layyan from Jalazon camp to 21 days in prison and four months suspended. He was also fined IS30,000 for blocking a road.

The same court sentenced Uqab Mustafa Hussein and Hamadah Anis Ismail, from Deir al-Hatab in Nablus district, to three months in prison for anti-Israeli activities.

The court also sentenced Mansour Nasr Hussein from Deir al-Hatab to 30 days in prison on the same charge.

DHEISHEH YOUTH RELEASED

DHEISHEH — Authorities released Nader Farraj of Dheisheh camp on IS150,000 bail until his trial is over. He served 65 days at Fara'a prison in Nablus. He was charged with confronting a group of settlers who tried to force their way into the camp.

NABLUS YOUTH JAILED

NABLUS — The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Majed Ata Taktuke of Nablus to seven months in prison and IS50,000 fine on charges of stone-throwing and demonstrating.

Israeli Ship Dumps Stow-away in Ocean

"Stow-away from Dar as-Salam found on board ship. Landed on the coast of Mozambique." So reads the March 28, 1982 entry in the log of an Israeli freighter owned by the Kibbutz Ha'meuchad movement.

But two-and-a-half years later, on November 9, 1984, the Israeli daily *Hadashot* published a number of photographs taken by Ayal Paran, one of the sailors on board, that dispute the claim of being "landed" on the coast of Mozambique. Instead the photographs show the African stowaway being put on a raft and set adrift in the ocean. Ayal Paran told *Hadashot* the captain of the ship, Avner Gilad, turned a deaf ear to the stowaway's pleas for mercy and when the crew refused to help him, hit the man, fastened a rope around his neck and lowered him onto a crude raft.

Paran and Ze'ev Korenberg, the ship's carpenter, claim they were five miles from the coast when the stowaway was put overboard. Gilad says they were a mere 500 metres from Mozambique and that he had no other choice, given the ship's next port of call, South Africa.

The publication in Israeli Hebrew papers last week with the photographs aroused a great deal of public indignation over the behaviour of captain Gilad. The minister of transport has appointed a commission to investigate the affair and police are awaiting its findings in order to decide whether or not to press charges.

The fate of the stowaway remains unknown.

Swiss Host Tri-City Solidarity Conference

A three-day conference in solidarity with the Palestinian people was held in three Swiss cities November 13, 14 and 15.

The largest conference meeting took place in Zurich on November 14. Other meetings were held in Bern and Basel. The conference featured Palestinian, Israeli and international figures.

Former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky spoke about Europe's approach to the Palestinian problem. In his speech Kreisky is quoted as saying that "Israel is digging its own grave if it continues its intransigent policies." He called upon Israel to speedily recognise the right of Palestinians to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state.

PLO representative in West Germany Abdullah Franji also spoke to the gathering. Deported Halhoul Mayor Mohammed Milhem and Israeli civil rights lawyer Felicia Langer spoke about the Palestinian problem and the situation in the occupied territories.

Milhem told the Zurich crowd that Palestinians are "sick and tired" of empty peace initiatives and demand a just and lasting peace now. Milhem said that peace will not only benefit the Palestinians but all peoples of the world.

Langer called upon European public opinion to stand by the Palestinians in their just struggle.

Palestinian novelist Sahar Khalifeh from Ramallah gave a lecture about the role of women in the Palestinian struggle. Richard Miller, member of the foreign affairs committee in the Swiss Socialist Party, demanded the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to live in freedom and honour on their national soil. Miller called on European countries to take a more active and positive stand in regard to the Middle East problem.

Palestinian singer and composer Mustafa al-Kurd entertained the Basel and Bern gatherings in the evening with nationalist songs and *'oud* playing.

The Israeli embassy in Switzerland actively opposed the Palestinian conference. Embassy officials distributed literature in an attempt to discredit Palestinians and the PLO.

The three-day conference was sponsored by a number of Swiss peace groups, led by the Swiss Socialist Party.

Muaweya Village

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master plan.

Once again the committee told them that the design was "not as it should be." According to Nahla, the map was changed a third time which "cost us a lot of money." Advocate Hussein Abu Hussein who has taken up cases of demolished houses in the village told *Al Fajr* that the nine residents have the right to be included in the master plan, because they have no alternative. He indicated that the Israelis intend to destroy the other houses later.

Meanwhile a new regional planning committee composed of two Israelis nd five Arabs was established in the Triangle. The new group approved the village map and referred it to the Haifa planners for their approval. The latter rejected it once again, this time with a new excuse — that the 20-dunum plot was outside the village jurisdiction. Advocate Hussein expressed wonder that after its apparent recognition of the legality of the houses — by twice requesting owners to change the map of the plot — the planning committee changed its mind.

The Haifa planners prosecuted the Nahla family in April 1983. The court ruled that the house had been built illegally and ordered its immediate demolition. Nahla himself was sentenced to four months' imprisonment and fined IS22,000.

The Nahlas appealed the case but the district court upheld the verdict and merely extended the time for demolition to 12 months.

As the October 20 deadline neared, Nahla appealed again, this time to the high court. It however refused to hear the case, and demolition became inevitable.

Palestinians Resist

The Nahla's house was the first to be demolished in the Triangle on this pretext since 1980 when a house in neighbouring Musmus was destroyed, trigging clashes between police manning the bulldozers and Musmus residents.

Deir Hanna's chief councilman, Raja Khatib, told *Al Fajr* that "the resistance of village population has saved the demolition of houses in the Arab sector."

When two houses in his Galilee village met with a similar fate in 1979, clashes between residents and police left many wounded and a large number of villagers arrested.

Elsewhere in the Galilee, clashes in Majd al-Krum during a house demolition in 1977 resulted in one villager's death and many wounded.

These and other incidents have made newspaper headlines and generated anger, resentment and protest among Palestinians and some Israelis. Hussein, who has been involved in many such cases, told *Al Fajr* that "the natural response of the Palestinian community to demolitions and the protest meetings they organize have caused the Israelis to think twice before issuing demolition orders." But it is still a battle of uneven odds.

Jewish Terrorism

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Among those apprehended was Amram Bloy, the son of a leader of the ultra-orthodox Neturei Karta sect.

Yet another underground began operating late in 1952. It bombed the Soviet mission on Jerusalem Street in Tel Aviv, attempted to set fire to the Soviet delegate's car, and more. It sprouted from the ranks of the *Mamlechet Y'israel* underground. In its journal, *Sulam*, Dr. Israel Eldad praised the activities of the underground, which became known as the Srifin underground on account of the trial of its members having taken place at the Srifin army base. The government of Israel branded the members of the underground as terrorists. Their ultimate objective was to establish the Kingdom of Israel, which would stretch to the Euphrates River. Yosef Makness and Yosef Heruti were members of this group.

MK Dov Shilanski also has a place of honour in the annals of Jewish terorism. During the 1950's, in the middle of a stormy public debate over reparations payments from Germany, Shilansky demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, holding a facsimile of a bomb. He was arrested and sentenced to 21 months in prison. Shilanski is still known for his extreme views; he supports the Temple Mount (al-Aqsa compound) loyalists and other extremist groups.

Two other important events in the annals of Jewish terrorism in the 1950's worth mentioning are the Knesset grenade attack and the Kastner murder. The grenade, thrown in the Knesset's temporary abode in Frumin House in downtown Jerusalem, wounded a number of MK's and ministers. It later came out that Moshe HaCohen, the man who threw the grenade, was mentally unbalanced.

The murder of Dr. Israel Kastner in 1957 by an extremist group followed a trial in which his role in negotiations with Adolf Eichmann during World War II regarding a deal to save Hungarian Jewry was severely criticised.

JDL's Terror

There was a lull in Jewish terrorist activity which lasted until the early 1970's. In 1972, the police were forced to deal with the threat of Jewish terrorism once again. Kahane had set up the Jewish Defence League in the United States. Amichai Flagen, who had been an officer in *Etzel* (a pre-state underground linked to the Herut Party), was convicted of attempting to smuggle arms out of the country to the JDL. A short time later, a Jewish terrorist group calling itself *Masada* planted a bomb in an Arabic bookstore in Paris. *Betar* (the Herut youth movement) activities in New York called for "striking back" against the perpetrators of terrorist actions against Jews. In Britain, an underground ring was set up which advocated the use of terror against terror. The *HaAretz* newspaper recently published the results of a poll taken at the time by the Pori Institute regarding the use of unofficial counter-terror attacks; 36.8 percent of those questioned were in favour of such actions.

The above-mentioned period can be termed the second wave of post-state Jewish terrorism. The third wave of Jewish terrorism began at the end of the 1970's and has been escalating ever since. For the past four years we have witnessed the rise of this "third wave." It encompasses different sectors of the population and employs a number of different methods. Unfortunately, its end is not yet in sight. (Translation: al-Hamishmar, November 6, 1984)

Israelis wait in vain in an employment office for something to turn up: *"Tell your readers that the Jews aren't prepared to take menial jobs."*

The idea of 'Hebrew Labour' never really worked in settler-colonial Israel, where a cheaper work force was always on hand to do the menial but necessary labour of cleaning, construction and agriculture. Now Israelis are blaming the exploited Palestinian workers for their own unemployment. Israeli journalist Mordechai Arsielli of *HaAretz* spoke to workers in Netivot.

Racism Rises With Israeli Unemployment

Why has Israel been hit by unemployment and what has generated the country's soaring rate of inflation? The unemployed workers of Netivot — a town in the Naqab — have an answer; moreover, they also have a solution and are disturbed by the fact that they haven't been allowed to 'deal' with those who engendered inflation and unemployment in Israel.

Not every unemployed person in Netivot thinks this way. But the majority do. You can find them in the Blue Glass Cafe, across the road from the local council buildings, or in the Sammy Bourekas Cafe, at the entrance to the town. They used to sit in the Montana Cafe but it closed down. There aren't many unemployed persons to be found in the employment office. Perhaps they came in early, signed in and then went to the cafe. Actually, many of the unemployed workers in Netivot don't even bother with the employment office.

They arrive at the cafe late in the morning. Many of them don't even get out of bed before 11:00 am or noon. They spend their days around tables filled with beer bottles and overflowing ashtrays. Ask them about the unemployment problem and they'll tell you just how and why Israel's inflation rate and unemployment reached their present dimensions.

"The Arabs cause both inflation and unemployment. They're willing to work for low pay. They're satisfied with a half or even a quarter of the going wage. And they take all their money and buy sacks of rice, flour and sugar and cans of oil and drive up the prices. They also screw our girls. If an Arab offers a girl US$100, she doesn't think twice about having sex with him. If we got rid of all the Arabs from Gaza who work in Netivot, we wouldn't have an unemployment problem. And we wouldn't have inflation either. But just get into a wrangle with an Arab and the police will cart you off to jail. They're clearly biased in favour of the Arabs." So says Yossi Biton, a 26-year-old man who claims he has been unemployed for 10 months. No one at the table took him to task over anything he said. They all agreed with him.

Yossi Biton arrived in Netivot straight from Morocco when he was four years old. He has nine brothers and sisters. He completed his primary education in town and went to a high school for a year-and-a-half. He didn't serve in the army because of "family reasons."

> "If we got rid of all the Arabs from Gaza who work in Netivot, we wouldn't have an unemployment problem."

For the past 10 years he has worked as a "painter and decorator." He told me he had worked as a self-employed painter but that now Jews couldn't find any work because the Arabs had taken all the jobs. "They're ready to work for half the going rate and the Jews here are ready to hire Arabs rather than hire me," he said. "I've never been to the employment office. Why should I go there? I was self-employed and that means that I'm not even eligible for the dole."

Twenty-three-year-old Yitzhak Levi does visit the employment office. "But they don't have any decent jobs there. They don't have anything that suits me," he said. Yitzhak lives at home with his parents and eight brothers and sisters. He spent two years in jail for narcotics trafficking and was only released nine months ago. He wasn't given an early parole. After finishing primary school in Netivot, Yitzhak went to work at a textile plant. When I asked him which one, he replied, "Who remembers? There was a textile plant here once. It closed down a long time ago and since then I've been unemployed." I asked him why and he said, "After I was released from prison I wanted to be conscripted but the army wouldn't take me. They weren't even prepared to call me for reserve duty. I went to the employment office and they sent me to *Mosrot* (a plant that produces iron cables for the army). But it wasn't what I was looking for. They don't pay well, either. Not only is it back-breaking labour, it's also shift work. And listen, they don't pay more than IS80-90,000 a month. Why the hell should I work there?"

When I asked him how he had money for beer and cigarettes he said, "My father doesn't work anymore. He once worked in a packing house. Anyway, he gives me a bit of money all the same. If he didn't, I'd go out and steal it. Look, what choice do I have? If the *Mosrot* plant wasn't full of Arabs from Gaza, the bosses would have to pay the Jews more money. Maybe IS200,000 a month. Maybe more. But the Arabs are ready to work for practically nothing and that's why I don't have any work."

When I mentioned that I had heard that a local packing house was looking for able-bodied men I received the following reply: "Do you expect us to work as packers? Are you out of your mind? First of all, packing is seasonal work — three months and that's it. What happens then? Some solution! We want permanent work. We want a decent salary. Every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday I go over to the employment office and they tell me that they have nothing to offer me. I get more money on the dole than I would working as a packer. There's no one around here who's ready to pay his workers a decent wage. Arab labour is cheap — so why hire us? If the Arabs from Gaza weren't here, they'd have no choice but to give us a decent salary. But as long as there are Arabs here, the factory owners will treat us like shit." So says Asher Levy, a thirty-year-old father of two who has been living in Netivot for the past 28 years.

Harry Bachar is also a 30-year-old father of two who has been living ip Netivot for the past 28 years. But unlike Asher Levy, he's never been to the employment office. "I've never been to the employment office," he told me, "and I'm not about to go there now. Call it self-respect if you like." Harry Bachar received his primary school education in Netivot and spent two years in high school before dropping out to work painting houses with his father. In 1973 he was inducted into the army and after he had completed his military service he went back to work with his father.

He told me that about a year ago, painting jobs began to fall off. I asked why and was told, "The Arabs from Gaza have swamped the market." Harry decided to switch professions and spent a year at the Wingate Institute learning how to be a sports teacher. Three months ago he returned to Netivot but failed to find a job in his new field. Since then he hasn't worked. His wife works in a day-care centre and her income supports the whole family. "You want to know how I spend my time? What a question! I sit here all day long. What else is there to do?" he said. One of the other fellows said, "He was one of the most successful house painters around. But now the Arabs are the only ones painting houses."

Nobody Wants to Clean

The owner of the cafe, Yossi — "Forget about my surname, just write Yossi" — told me to come to town early in the morning. "You'll see tens and hundreds of Arabs from the Gaza Strip standing under the eucalyptus trees and waiting for contractors, *moshavniks* and all sorts of other people to hire them for a day's work," he said. "They pay them a quarter of the going rate. But when it comes down to it, it's not all that cut and dry. Look at me. I own a restaurant and pay an Arab IS1000 to clean up every morning. It takes him about three hours. But I'd be willing to pay a Jew IS3000 or even more, provided he did the same work. But where do you find someone willing to take hold of a broom and dustpan? Nobody wants to be a cleaner. It's considered too menial for Jews. A young guy just out of the army would never agree to take on a job like that. Tell your readers that the Jews aren't prepared to take menial jobs."

According to the employment office's September statistics, 359 people in Netivot were out of work and only 181 jobs available. In October, 301 people were registered with the office, 184 of whom remained unemployed at the end of the month. According to the figures of the employment office, there are 151 Gazan Arabs working in Netivot. Baruch Haklai, the director of the employment office, told me that an unemployed person "is someone registered with our office as being out of work. Whoever doesn't come to the office isn't listed as unemployed. All those who become very choosy when a job opens up and begin to make sudden demands aren't considered unemployed persons either."

He confirms that the unemployment rate is rising and that it is cause for concern, and yet, according to Haklai, "if every Israeli in Netivot was prepared to work, we could find him a job and unemployment would soon become a minor problem."

The chairperson of the local council, Yosef Abu, is not up to date with the latest statistics. "I'm going crazy," he told me. "Every day young men who've just completed their army service beg me to find them work and I can't. There's nothing I can do. Just this year the Sportlife factory closed down; 54 workers lost their jobs. The Mister B garment factory also folded; 53 people found themselves out of work. A radiator factory that employed 36 people also closed and 55 diamond polishers have been laid off work this year. A lot of factories are going bust. Even the road work company Sol Kvish laid off 36 of its workers."

He showed me a telegramme he had sent to the government. It read as follows: "Sa'ad — a religious kibbutz — laid off 12 workers who were supporting large families and hired a contractor who supplied them with Arab workers in their place. The employment situation here is deteriorating. You must intervene."

So it is that even the chairperson of the local council has taken up a racist posture. Anti-Arab hatred is on the rise. Although Kahane's Kach list only received 40 votes in Netivot in the general elections, when he came to visit Netivot last month, hundreds of young people came out to hear him. If the elections were held today, Kahane would probably get a few hundred votes in Netivot. (Translation: HaAretz, November 16, 1984)